THE LAST CITIZEN

PROGRAM #1
"THE LAST CITIZEN"

BORDERS:

WELL, FOR ONE THING HE IS POOR. IN THE NEXT PLACE
HE DOES NOT HAVE THE VOTE AT HIS DISPOSAL. IN THE
NEXT PLACE, HE'S NOT AS WELL EDUCATED AS HE OUGHT TO BE.
(FADE SLOWLY AND START NEXT SPEECH)

LONG:

I WOULD SAY IN THE FIELD OF RACE RELATIONS, IF THERE IS ANY ATTITUDE WHICH CHARACTERIZES THE MAJORITY PUBLIC, IT IS AN ATTITUDE OF INDIFFERENCE (FADE AND START NEXT SPEECH)...of NOT REALLY CARING, AND IN MANY INSTANCES...

MANNING:

IT SEEMS TO ME THAT THERE IS NO QUESTION AT ALL OF THE RELATEDNESS OF EDUCATION...HOUSING...IN TERMS OF THE NEGRO'S PROGRESS. (FADE AND START NEXT SPEECH)

FLEMING:

I WOULD BE WILLING TO VENTURE THE PREDICTION THAT WE ARE GOING TO HAVE DESEGREGATION, AND THAT GRADUALLY THIS WILL BE TRANSLATED INTO DIFFERENT KINDS OF RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE RACES.

MUSIC

STINGER

ANNCR:

AS A WALL IS BUILT STONE ON STONE, SO IS A PROBLEM COM-POSED OF MANY ELEMENTS...EACH RELATED TO THE OTHER. WE INVITE YOU TO JOIN US AS WE EXAMINE SOME OF THE MAJOR ELEMENTS MAKING UP THE PROBLEM OF THE NEGRO IN AMERICA.. "THE LAST CITIZEN".

MUSIC

STINGER

ANN CR:

THE LAST CITIZEN: THE NEGRO IN AMERICA. A SERIES OF PROGRAMS DEVOTED TO THEEXTENSION OF OUR KNOWLEDGE OF THE LARGEST MINORITY GROUP IN THE UNITED STATES...IT'S LIFE, ITS PROBLEMS, AND THE PROBLEMS IT POSES TO ALL AMERICAN THE LAST CITIZEN IS PRODUCED BY RADIO STATION WBAA, PURDUE UNIVERSITY, UNDER A GRANT FROM THE EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION AND RADIO CENTER IN COOPERATION WITH THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTERS. HERE NOW IS THE PRODUCER OF THE SERIES, E. W. RICHTER, TO INTRODUCE TODAY'S PROGRAM.

RICHTER:

DURING THE PAST TWO YEARS IT H AS BEEN OUR PLEASURE TO TRAVEL TO MANY PARTS OF THE COUNTRY...TO N EW YORK, BOSTON, WASHINGTON, D.C.....TO ATLANTA, GEORGIA; BIRM-INGHAM AND MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA; AND OTHER SOUTHERN CITIC

TO CHICAGO, KANSAS CITY, LOS ANGELES AND SAN FRANCISCO. EVERYWHERE WE WENT WE CARRIED WITH US A TAPE-RECORDER AND A LIBERAL SUPPLY OF RECORDING TAPE. DURING THE COURSE OF THESE TRAVELS, WE COLLECTED INTERVIEWS WITH MORE THAN A HUNDRED PERSONS...COLLEGE PROFESSORS, JOURN-ALISTS, PUBLIC FIGURES, AUTHORS, PROFESSIONAL SOCIAL WORKERS. ALL OF THESE PEOPLE HAD ONE THING IN COMMON... AN INTEREST IN WHAT MANY PEOPLE FEEL IS THE SOCIAL PROB-LEM OF THE CENTURY...THE PROBLEM OF RACE RELATIONS. DURING THE WEEKS TO COME, WE WILL HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY OF LISTENING TO A GREAT DIVERSITY OF COMMENTS FROM MANY OF THE PEOPLE WHOM WE HAVE INTERVIEWED AS WE EXPLORED THE WORLD OF "THE LAST CITIZEN". OUR PURPOSE IS TO TRY TO GIVE AS OBJECTIVE AS POSSIBLE A PICTURE OF AMERICAN LIFE AS IT AFFECTS THE NEGRO IN THIS COUNTRY. AND TO HELP US IN THIS TASK WE ARE VERY FORTUNATE TO HAVE DR. Louis Schneider, Professor of Sociology at Purdue Uni-VERSITY, WHO HAS HAD A LONG STANDING INTEREST IN OUR SUBJECT.

SCHNEIDER:

I THINK IT MIGHT BE WELL TO MENTION WHY WE SELECTED THE TITLE THAT WE DID FOR OUR SERIES, WALT... THE LAST CITIZES THAT THAT I IN A TOTAL TO SERIES TO SERIES.

RICHTER:

WELL, WE FELT THAT, IN A WAY, THE NEGRO CAN BE LOOKED ON AS OUR LAST IMMIGRANT. BECAUSE, DESPITE THE FACT THAT HE'S BEEN WITH US FOR MORE THAN THREE HUNDRED YEARS HE IS STILL FACING MANY OF THE PROBLEMS FACED AND LARGELY RESOLVED BY EUROPEAN IMMIGRANTS WHO ARRIVED MUCH MORE RECENTLY...HE IS STILL FIGHTING THE BATTLE WHICH WAS WON LONG AGO BY EVEN OUR MOST RECENT IMMIGRANTS...THE BATTLE FOR FIRST CLASS CITIZENSHIP. AND THIS IS ESPECIA-LLY REMARKABLE SINCE NEGRO MIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES ENDED MORE THAN ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO, WHEN THE STATUTES FORBIDDING THE IMPORTATION OF SLAVES WERE FINALLY EN-FORCED. AND SO, WE SPEAK OF HIM AS OUR "LAST CITIZEN" ... ONE OUT OF EVERY TEN CITIZENS OF THIS COUNTRY IS CLASS-IFIED AS A NEGRO. BUT WHO IS HE. THIS TENTH MAN...THIS AMERICAN NEGRO...THIS "LAST CITIZEN"? AS IN DESCRIBING ANY INDIVIDUAL THERE ARE MANY ANSWERS TO THIS QUESTION. SO IT IS WITH THE NEGRO. PERHAPS THE SIMPLEST REPLY IS THAT HE IS A DARK-SKINNED AMERICAN OF AFRICAN ANCESTRY. BUT THIS IS ONLY A FRAGMENTARY ANSWER. WITH THE AID OF Dr. Schneider, Let's explore other possible answers.

SCHNEIBER:

THE NEGRO IS THE UNKNOWN MAN. MANY OF US ARE STILL RELATIVELY POORLY INFORMED ABOUT HIS MODE OF LIFE, HIS ASPIRATIONS...OR EVEN THE NATURE OF HIS STATUS IN AMERICA. THE WALL OF SEGREGATION ITSELF, JUST BECAUSE OF WHAT SEGREGATION IS, MEANS THAT IN MANY AREAS OF THE

COUNTRY, AND IN MANY FIELDS OF SOCIAL LIFE, THE NEGRO CANNOT BE WELL KNOWN TO THE WHITE, JUST AS THE WHITE CANNOT BE WELL KNOWN TO THE NEGRO.

RICHTER:

THE NEGRO IS THE MYTHICAL MAN. EVEN THOUGH WE MAY NOT KNOW HIM WELL, WE READ ABOUT HIM, HEAR ABOUT HIM, TELL STORIES ABOUT HIM. GENERALLY SPEAKING, WE SEEM TO HAVE CONSIDERABLE CURIOSITY ABOUT HIM. AND, THE RESULTING COMBINATION OF IGNORANCE AND CURIOSITY, IS LIKELY TO GIVE RISE TO MYTH, LEGEND, AND PHANTASY.

SCHNEIDER:

THE NEGRO IS THE VARIOUS MAN. THERE EXIST VERY DIFFER-ING IMAGES OF HIM. TO THE SO-CALLED LIBERAL OF THE South as Well as the North, HE MAY APPEAR AS THE UN-FORTUNATE MEMBER OF AN OPPRESSED GROUP. TO THOSE WHO FEEL ANTAGONISTIC TO HIM, OR THREATENED BY HIM...FOR WHATEVER REASONS...HE MAY APPEAR AS A MENACING FIGURE WHO WISHES TO SUBVERT PROMISING HOUSING DEVELOPMENTS, STANDARDS OF EDUCATION, CHERISHED TRADITIONS, OR EVEN THE VERY FOUNDATIONS OF AMERICAN LIFE. EMBATTLED WITH PARADOXICAL PEACEFULNESS UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF A MARTIN LUTHER KING IN A LARGE SOUTHERN CITY, HE PRESENTS ONE ASPECT TO THE WORLD. IN VIRTUAL BONDAGE TO A MHITE LANDOWNER IN THE RURAL SOUTH, HE PRESNETS ANOTHER. IN MILITANT COMBAT FOR RECOGNITION AS A SKILLED WORKER IN THE NORTHERN INDUSTRIAL CENTERS, HE WEARS STILL A DIFF-ERENT COUNTENANCE. OTHERS ARE VARIOUS, TOO, BUT PERHAPS FEW ARE AS VARIOUS, OR AS VARIOUSLY JUDGED IN AMERICA, AS THE NEGRO.

RICHTER:

THE NEGRO IS THE CONTROVERSIAL MAN. THERE IS MUCH DISAGREEMENT ABOUT HIM. THIS IS HARDLY SURPRISING IN VIEW OF WHAT WE HAVE ALREADY SAID. E ARE INTERESTED IN THE NEGRO, ALTHOUGH MANY OF US KNOW LITTLE ABOUT HIM. TE HAVE MUCH CURIOSITY ABOUT HIM. HE SEEMS TO BE VARIOUS AND ELUSIVE. GIVEN A SITUATION LIKE THIS, IT IS QUITE TO EXPECTED THAT THERE SHOULD BE CONTROVERSY. NORTHERNERS WHO HAVE STOOD SIDE-BY-SIDE WITH ABLE AND EFFICIENT NEGRO WORKERS MAY WELL BE INCLINED TO CALL THE NEGRO INTELLIGENT. SOUTHERNERS, WHO HAVE WITNESSED THE VERY DIFFERENT BEHAVIOR OF THE NEGRO IN SOUTHERN FACTOR-IES, "FRESH FROM THE FARM", ARE LIKELY TO HAVE A VERY DIFFERENT VIEW OF HIS CAPACITIES. AND CONTROVERSY ABOUT HIM EXTENDS INTO MANY OTHER FIELDS: IS HE LIKELY TO BE POLITICALLY RESPONSIBLE AND ALERT? OR POLITICALLY MORE APATHETIC AND INEPT THAN THE GENERAL RUN OF WHITES? AND SO THE CONTROVERSY GOES ON INDEFINITELY.

SCHNEIDER:

THE NEGRO IS THE MINORITY MAN. THE NEGRO IS EMINENTLY THE MINORITY MAN IN THE UNITED STATES. HE IS THE MOST

EASILY IDENTIFIED...HE HAS HIGH VISIBILITY....SIMPLY BECAUSE OF HIS PIGMENTATION. AT THE SAME TIME HE PRESENTS TO AMERICANS SOME OF THE MOST DIFFICULT MORAL, SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS THAT ARISE IN REGARD TO ANY MINORITY GROUP, AND FOR ALL PRACTICAL PURPOSES THE NEGRO MINORITY IS THE LARGEST IN THE COUNTRY. THERE ARE, TO BE SURE, ABOUT FIVE MILLION JEWS; THERE ARE CHINESE, JAPANESE, FILIPINOS, PUERTO RICANS, MEXICANS...ALL LESS NUMEROUS THAN NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES. AND WE HARDLY BOTHER ANY LONGER TO APPLY THE TERM, MINORITY, EVEN TO SOME OF OUR MOST RECENT IMMIGRANT GROUPS SUCH AS POLES, OR ITALIANS, OR GREEKS. OR EVEN IF WE DO, WE ARE SO AWARE THAT NEGROES REPRESENT THE "BIG" MINORITY PROBLEM THAT OTHER GROUPS ARE OVERSHADOWED WHEN WE HAVE REFERENCE TO MINORITIES.

RICHTER:

THE NEGRO IS THE CONSCIENCE-DISTURBING MAN. GUNNAR MYRDAL, IN HIS STUDY OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO, AN AMERICAN DILEMMA, INDICATES THAT THE DILEMMA OF WHICH HE SPEAKS IS THIS: IF WE WISH TO HOLD TO DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES, WE CANNOT SHOW PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION TOWARD AN ARBITRARILY SELECTED TENTH OF THE NATION: IF WE DO SHOW THE PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION, WE CAN HARDLY PROFESS TO BE ADHERING UNQUALIFIEDLY TO DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES. THE NEGRO CREATES MUCH UNEASTNESS AMONG LU THERE ARE VOICES FROM ABROAD THAT SOMETIMES MOCK TAND SOMETIMES POUR SCORN UPON US... VOICES THAT TELL US THAT MUCH OF THE WORLD BECOMES SKEPTICAL OF OUR DEMOCRATIC, HUMANITARIAN, AND CHRISTIAN PROFESSIONS AS LONG AS THE NEGRO CONTINUES TO RECEIVE THE TREATMENT HE DOES. THESE VOICES MINGLE WITH INNER VOICES OF OUR OWN THAT INTIMATE THAT THERE MAY BE JUSTIFICATION FOR THE VOICES FROM ABROAD. THE NEGRO THUS PRODUCES A MORAL SPLIT WITHIN THE WHITE MAN HIMSELF. SOME ARE QUITE RIVEN BY THIS SPLIT; OTHERS ARE RELATIVELY FREE OF IT. BUT, IT IS A FAIR PRESUMPTION THAT A GOODLY PROPORTION OF US CAN, AND AT TIMES DO, BECOME MUCH DISTURBED OVER THE SO-CALLED NEGRO PROBLEM IN ITS HIGHLY IMPORTANT MORAL DIMENSIONS.

SCHNEIDER:

THESE ARE A FEW OF THE POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO OUR QUESTION AS TO WHO THE "LAST CITIZEN" IS...! SAY A FEW OF THE POSSIBLE ANSWERS, AND EVEN THE ONES THAT WE'VE GIVEN ARE HARDLY MORE THAN SKETCHES...!NCOMPLETE.

RICHTER:

AND THIS IS ONE OF THE THINGS WE HOPE TO DO IN THIS SERIES...FIND OUT JUST "HO THE AMERICAN NEGRO IS. HOW MANY OF US REALLY KNOW ANYTHING ABOUT NEGROES? OR EVEN ONE NEGRO? AND WHAT THE FUSS IS ALL ABOUT?... LET'S TURN TO THE EMINENT HISTORIAN AND AUTHOR, DR. RAYFORD LOGAN OF HOWARD UNIVERSITY IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

In 1944, Professor Logan edited a book entitled, $\underline{\text{What}}$ the Negro Wants.

LOGAN:

THERE WERE FOURTEEN CONTRIBUTORS, INCLUDING MYSELF, THE EDITOR. SOME OF THE CONTRIBUTORS ARE WELL KNOWN: DR. W.B. DUBOIS, THE LATE MRS. MARY MCLEOD B ETHUNE, A. PHILLIP RANDOLPH, ROY WILKINS-SECRETARY OF THE N AACP, AND OTHERS. AS EDITOR, I ALLOWED EACH CONTRIBUTOR TO EXPRESS HIS OWN POINT OF VIEW. PERHAPS THE MOST SURPRISING RESULT WAS THAT ALL FOURTEEN OF US WANTED THE SAME THING...NAMELY, WE WANTED THE OPPORTUNITY FOR NEGROES, ALONG WITH OTHER AMERICANS, TO HAVE THE EQUAL CHANCE TO FULFILL THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES AND TO EXERCISE THEIR RIGHTS UNDER THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES, PRINCIPLES.

RICHTER:

ON FIRST EXAMINATION, THIS.CERTAINLY SEEMS SIMPLE ENOUGH. A GROUP OF CITIZENS WANT ACCORDED TO THEM THE SAME RIGHTS, RESPONSIBILITIES, AND PR®VILEGES THAT THE OTHER CITIZENS OF THE NATION HAVE.

SCHNEIDER:

AND YET, IN ALMOST EVERY AREA OF ENDEAVOR THE NEGRO IN AMERICA IS HANDICAPPED IN THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THIS SEEMINGLY SIMPLE GOAL. HE HAS DIFFICULTY GETTING A GOOD EDUCATION, GETTING A GOOD JOB, GETTING A DECENT PLACE TO LIVE. AND SO ON. THE NEGRO'S OPEN. AND ONE MIGHT SAY OBVIOUS, DEMAND FOR WHAT WE USUALLY CALL EQUAL ITY AND JUSTICE IS COMPLICATED BY A GREAT MANY MATTERS. I THINK THIS MATTER OF THE COMPLICATION OF WHAT INITIALL! A PPEARS TO BE SUCH A SIMPLE THING IS WORTH OUR CLOSE ATTENTION. TAKE THE MOST RUDIMENTARY ELEMENTS OF WHAT MOST OF US WOULD BE INCLINED TO CALL EQUALITY. C. 12 EQUALITY UNDER THE LAW...OR PERHAPS JUSTICE. THESE ELEMENTS FROM THE VERY BEGINNING GET TANGLED AMONG THEMSELVES. FOR INSTANCE, MYRDAL NOTES THAT THERE IS GENUINE INTERACTION AMONG THE ELEMENTS THAT FINALLY GO TO MAKE UP WHAT WE CALL EQUALITY, JUSTICE, AND OPPOR-TUNITY. LET US CITE HOUSING IN THIS CONNECTION: THE NEGRO'S HOUSING DOES NOT STAND BY ITSELF. IF HE DOESN'T GET A "FAIR SHAKE" ON THE HOUSING MARKET, HIS COMFORT, AND EVEN HEALTH, MAY BE SERIOUSLY AFFECTED. THIS, IN TURN, IS LIKELY TO AFFECT HIS JOB CHANCES AND HIS CHANCE ON THE JOB. EXCESSIVE ABSENTEEISM, DUE TO ILLNESS, WILL NOT HELP THE INDIVIDUAL NEGRO'S CAUSE ON THE JOB MARKET. IN TURN, HIS CHANCES FOR HIGHER EDUCATION CAN BE AD-VERSELY AFFECTED BY HIS LOW ECONOMIC STATUS, WHICH THEN TWISTS ON ITSELF TO AFFECT THE STARTING POINT OF THE WHOLE DOWNWARD SPIRAL ... NAMELY, THE HOUSING SITUA-TION.

OF COURSE, BY THE SAME REASONING, WOULDN'T A "SHOT IN THE ARM" AT THE RIGHT POINT OR POINTS BE LIKELY TO CREATE AN UPWARD SPIRAL?

SCHNE LDER:

YES, IF WE HIT THE DELICATE BALANCE OF FORCES AT A STRATEGIC POINT, WE MAY, AT RELATIVELY SMALL COST, START A RAMIFYING UMBARD MOVING SPIRAL DEVELOPMENT. BUT, WHETHER THE SPIRAL MOVES UP OR DOWN, WE CAN ALREADY RECOGNIZE THE EXISTENCE OF A CERTAIN COMPLEXITY IN THE WHOLE SOCALLED NEGRO PROBLEM.

RICHTER:

BUT WOULDN'T SUCH AN UPWARD SPIRAL BRING ABOUT NEW PROB-LEMS?

SCHNEIDER:

IT WOULD INDEED. SUPPOSE, FOR THE SAKE OF ARGUMENT, AN UPWARD-MOVING SPIRAL OF THE TYPE SUGGESTED WERE GOING ALONG HANDSOMELY, LET'S SAY, IN A SPECIFIC COMMUNITY... DEPENDING UPON THE COMMUNITY AND ITS TRADITIONS, THERE MIGHT BE A GENUINE DANGER THAT ANGRY, INSECURE, JEALOUS WHITES WOULD INTERVENE TO STOP THE UPWARD MOVEMENT. SEEING GROWING SELF-CONFIDENCE AND INCREASING ACHIEVEMENT ON THE PART OF THE NEGRO, THEY MIGHT WELL DECIDE; "THESE NIGGERS ARE GETTING TOO DAMNED UPPITY," AND ONE MIGHT THEN WITNESS A WAVE OF REFUSALS TO HIRE NEGROES TO JOBS WHICH UP TO THAT TIME THEY HAD BEEN GETTING WITHOUT DIFFICULTY.

RICHTER:

WE SUGGESTED BERORE THAT THERE IS A CERTAIN SEEMING SIM-PLICITY ABOUT THE NEGRO'S DEMAND FOR JUSTICE, EQUALITY, AND SO FORTH BUT, WE CAN ALREADY SEE THAT IT ISN'T A SIMPLE MATTER AT ALL.

SCHNEIDER:

IN A VERY REAL SENSE, IT ISN'T. TAKE THE MATTER YOU'VE JUST MENTIONED OF THE NEGRO'S DEMAND FOR JUSTICE, EQUAL-ITY AND SO FORTH. IT MIGHT APPEAR A SIMPLE QUESTION WHETHER THE NEGRO SHOULD RESIST ENCROACHMENTS UPON WHAT HE AND MANY OTHERS BELIEVE TO BE HIS RIGHTS. PERHAPS EVEN THE MANNER OF HIS RESISTANCE WOULD APPEAR TO POSE RELATIVELY SIMPLE QUESTIONS. BUT AGAIN, A LITTLE RE-FLECTION, AND SOME CONTEMPLATION OF THE AMERICAN SCENE. WILL SOON CONVINCE US THAT THESE PROBLEMS, TOO, ARE MANY-SIDED. THERE ARE STILL, FOR EXAMPLE, SOME CHRISTIAN MINISTERS WHO BELIEVE THAT THE NEGRO IS BEING SINFUL IF HE LITERALLY REFUSES TO TURN THE OTHER CHEEK. ON THE OTHER HAND, THERE ARE RESENTFUL NEGROES WHO WOULD NEVER DREAM OF TURNING THE OTHER CHEEK. IF RESISTANCE IS TO BE MADE, WHAT KIND OF RESISTANCE SHALL IT BE? SHALL ONE-TENTH OF A NATION RISE UP IN VIOLENCE AGAINST THE REST AND SEEK TO WIN WHAT IT CONCEIVES TO BE ITS RIGHTS BY

THE ISSUE OF BATTLE? EVEN ASSUMING THAT NEGROES WOULD AND COULD SUMMON THE UNITY AND THE AGRESSIVE RESOLUTION TO CARRY ON WAR AGAINST WHITE AMERICANS, THE PROSPECTS OF SUCCESS WOULD EVIDENTLY NOT BE LARGE. MOREOVER, WHY LUMP TOGETHER WITH "THE ENEMY" MILLIONS OF WHITES WHO WOULD BE SUBSTANTIALLY IN SYMPATHY WITH THE NEGROES, AND MILLIONS OF OTHERS WHO WOULD BE INTERNALLY TORN-HALF DESIROUS OF MAKING LARGE CONCESSIONS TO THE NEGRO PEOPLE. BUT SHALL THE NEGRO REALLY OFFER NO RESISTANCE? INCREASINGLY, NEGROES HAVE SMALL REGARD FOR THE SUBSERVIENT OR SELF-SUPPRESSING, OR SELF-REPRESSING NEGRO WHO IS CALLED AN "UNCLE TOM". THERE IS AN APPREC IABLE DETERMINATION AMONG NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES TODAY TO FIGHT, TO RESIST, TO WIN THE BATTLES OF COURT, SCHOOL, JOB, AND HOUSING.

RICHTER:

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. BECAME FAMOUS ALMOST OVERNIGHT BECAUSE OF HIS ATTEMPTED STRATEGIC COMBINATION OF RESISTANCE AND NON-VIOLENCE. AND, THIS IS INTERESTING IN THE LIGHT OF WHAT YOU'VE JUST SAID, LOU, REVEREND KING IS AS FIRM ON THE POINT OF RESISTANCE AS HE IS ON NON-VIOLENCE.

SCHNEIDER:

MOREOVER, HIS GHANDIAN TACTICS UNQUESTIONABLY HELPED HIM WIN A NOTABLE VICTORY IN MONTGOMERY. HOWEVER, THE STAB-ILITY AND EFFECTIVENESS OF THE COMBINATION OF RESISTANCE AND NON-VIOLENCE ARE STILL SOMEWHAT PROBLEMATIC. NEGROES IN OTHER PARTS OF THE UNITED STATES MAY HAVE TO MAKE DO WITH LESS INSPIRING LEADERSHIP AND MAY HAVE TO FACE LESS CLEARCUT ISSUES...AND LESS FORTUNATE COMBINATIONS OF CIRCUMSTANCES. FUTURE EFFORTS TO COMBINE RESISTANCE WIT NON-VIOLENCE MAY MEET WITH LESS SUCCESS. A DELICATE BALANCE IS BEING DEALT WITH HERE--WITH THE BEST WILL IN THE WORLD, VIOLENCE MAY STILL ERUPT WHEN LEADERS ARE DOING ALL THAT THEY CAN TO PREVENT IT. THIS, AS DR. KING RECOGNIZES, CAN RE-CREATE OLD VICIOUS CIRCLES ON THE PRINCIPLE, "ALL THEY THAT TAKE THE SWORD SHALL PERISH BY THE SWORD", AS VIOLENCE IS AGAIN COUNTERED BY VIOLENCE ON THE OTHER HAND, THIS DELICATE BALANCE MAY TIP THE OTHER WAY AND, IN THEIR FERVOR FOR NON-VIOLENCE, NEGROES MIGHT WELL FALL INTO NON-RESISTANCE--WHICH IN TURN COULD MEAN INEFFECTIVENESS OF THEIR PROTESTS OR CONTEMPT ON THE PART OF THE WHITES, OR EVEN THE EVOCATION OF A CER-TAIN SADISM ON THE PART OF WHITE. WE ARGUE SOMEWHAT AB-STRACTLY HERE, ADMITTEDLY, BUT IT SHOULD BE CLEAR ENOUGH THAT HERE, TOO, IN THE DISCUSSION OF AN OSTENSIBLY SIMPLE QUESTION, THE NEGRO'S RESISTANCE TO BEING TAGGED AS SE-COND-CLASS CITIZENS, WE HAVE COMPLEXITIES THAT REQUIRE OUR REALLY CAREFUL CONSIDERATION.

AND SO WE COME TO THE UNDERSTANDING THAT WHAT, ON THE SURFACE SEEMS LIKE A VERY SIMPLE THING. . A GROUP OF CITI-ZENS DESIRING THEIR RIGHTS UNDER THE LAWS OF DEMOCRACY... IS IN REALITY A MAZE OF COMPLICATIONS..COMPLICATIONS BASED ON THE TURNINGS AND TWISTINGS OF THE HUMAN MIND AND ON THE CURIOUS WAYS OF HUMAN SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS....THE MOST COMPLEX AND LEAST UNDERSTOOD FACETS OF HUMAN EXIST-ENCE. IN THE WEEKS TO COME WE'LL BE TALKING ABOUT THE QUESTIONS RAISED BY DR. SCHNEIDER. WE SHALL TRY TO COME TO A FULLER UNDERSTANDING OF THE NATURE OF RACE RELATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES. OF THE CAUSAL FACTORS IN THE NEGRO' PLIGHT. OF THE NATURE AND ESSENCE OF PREJUDICE. TO HELP IN DOING THIS, WE WILL TURN TO THE RECORDED INTERVIEWS MENTIONED EARLIER IN THIS PROGRAM. FOR AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE BACKGROUND OF TODAY'S RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN NEGRO AND WHITE WE WILL TURN TO SOME OF THE NATION'S WELL KNOW! HISTORIANS. FOR EXAMPLE, TO DR. JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN, CHAIRMAN OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, BROOKLYN COLLEGE:

FRANKLIN:

I THINK IT OUGHT TO BE REMEMBERED THAT THE FIRST NEGROES WHO CAME TO ENGLISH AMERICA WERE NOT SLAVES, BUT WERE INDENTURED SERVANTS. IT WAS THE EXPERIENCE THAT ENGLISH AMERICA HAD WITH NEGROES THAT CONVINCED THE ENGLISH AMERICANS THAT NEGROES WERE QUITE SUITABLE FOR ENSLAVEMENT. ONE FACTOR, OF COURSE, WAS THAT OF COLOR. THE FACT THAT THE NEGRO WAS QUITE DIFFERENT FROM THE WHITE MAN IN COLOF AND PHYSIOGNOMY GENERALLY, MADE IT POSSIBLE FOR HIM TO BE SET ASIDE AND TO BE PRESUMED TO BE A BLAVE. THIS WOULD, OF COURSE, OBVIATE ANY CONFUSION WITH RESPECT TO RUNAWAYTH OF THE NEGRO. BETCETERA, WERE FOUND THEY WERE PRESUMED TO BE SLAVES AND COULD BE RETURNED TO THEIR MASTER.

RICHTER:

To find out how the Negro in the South fares today we'll turn to such people as the Editor of the Atlanta Constitution, Mr. Ralph McGill:

MCGILL:

IN THE NORTH, THE LAW DOESN'T DISCRIMINATE AGAINST HIM, BUT I THINK THAT HIS POSITION AS A HUMAN BEING IS PERHAP NOT AS GOOD THERE AS IT IS HERE...IN MANY RESPECTS, AT LEAST. BUT THE GREAT ADVANTAGE HE HAS IN THE NORTH IS THAT UNDER THE LAW, AT LEAST, HE IS AS MUCH A CITIZEN AS ANYONE ELSE. IN THE DEEP SOUTHHE IS NOT. HE IS SECONDCLASS CITIZEN.

RICHTER:

TO MR. E.D. NIXON, NEGRO LEADER IN MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA:

NIXON:

THE ONLY WAY A NEGRO CAN GET A JOB AROUND THE STATE CAPITOL, HE GOT TO COMMIT A CRIME, BE CONVICTED, PUT ON PRISONER GARBS, AND BE SENT UP TO THE CAPITOL AS A TRUST NOT A SINGLE NEGRO HAS ANYTHING TO DO WITH NOTHIN' GOIN' ON IN THE CAPITOL, NOT EVEN AS A JANITOR.

WE WILL HEAR REVEREND MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., WHOSE ROLE IN THE MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA, BUS BOYCOTT MADE OF HIM A FIGURE OF INTERNATIONAL IMPORTANCE:

KING:

NELL, IN MONTGOMERY THE BUSES ARE THOROUGHLY INTEGRATED, AND THINGS ARE MOVING VERY SMOOTHLY IN THAT AREA. IN FACT, I DON'T KNOW OF ANY REAL INCIDENTS THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE ON THE BUSES SINCE THEY WERE INTEGRATED WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE TRAGIC ASPECTS OF VIOLENCE THAT TOOK PLACE THE FIRST FEW DAYS. WE HAD SOME SHOOTINGS ON THE BUSES AND THINGS LIKE THAT.

RICHTER:

AND DR. BENJAMIN E. MAYS, PRESIDENT OF MOREHOUSE COLLEGE IN ATLANTA. GEORGIA.

MAYS:

I DON'T THINK THERE HAS BEEN ANY CHANGE IN HIS MILITANCY YOU SEE, IT WAS HIS MILITANCY THAT BROUGHT ABOUT THE MAY 17, 1954, DECISION. I THINK THE..WHERE THE NEGRO HAS BEEN DISAPPOINTED IS..ISN'T THAT THE MOOD TOWARD DESEGRATION HASN'T GONE AS FAST AS IT MIGHT HAVE GONE. I THINK WHERE WE ARE GREATLY DISTURBED IS, IS NOT BETWEE WHETHER DESEGRATION GOES TEN MILES AN HOUR OR SIXTY MILE. AN HOUR OR ZERO.

RICHTER:

WE WILL LISTEN TO THE READ WRITER, MISS LILLIAN SMITH:

SMITH:

EVEN WHEN I WAS VERY YOUNG, ALTHOUGH I WAS SHELTERED AND PROTECTED, I BECAME AWARE OF THE FACT THAT I LIVED IN A TOWN WHERE THERE WERE INVISIBLE WALLS, AND THAT THOSE WALLS MEANT A GREAT DEAL TO EVERYBODY IN THE TOWN. I THINK I FOUND IT OUT IN CHURCH, WHEN I WAS QUITE SMALL, WHEN I REALIZED THAT MY LITTLE COLORED PLAYMATES, AND EVERY SOUTHERN CHILD HAD COLORED PLAYMATES. THAT THEY DIDN'T GO TO MY CHURCH. THAT IN MY NICE BIG CHURCH WERE ONLY WHITE PEOPLE, WHITE FACES.

RICHTER:

TO FIND OUT WHAT'S HAPPENING ON THE LEGAL FRONT WE WILL HAVE ACCESS TO THE VIEWS OF SUCH PERSONS AS THE DISTINGUISHED, RETIRED SOUTH CAROLINA JURIST, JUDGE J. MAITES WARING IN WHOSE COURT THE SOUTH CAROLINA WHITE PRIMARY ELECTION WAS OUTLAWED:

WARING:

WELL, I FEEL IT VERY IMPORTANT, MR. RICHTER, THAT WE DISCUSS THE EFFECT OF LAW AND THE IMPORTANCE OFLAW ON THE WHOLE RACIAL QUESTION. I KNOW IT'S COMMON TO SAY IT AND VERY OFTEN SAID, THAT YOU HAVE TO EDUCATE PEOPLE BEFORE YOU ATTEMPT TO PASS LAWS OR THEY WON'T OBEY THEM BUT I WANT TO STRESS THE FACT THAT YOU'VE GOT TO HAVE LAWS UNDER WHICH MORALITY AND DECENT THINKING CAN OPERATE. YOU HAVE GOT TO REALIZE THAT WHILE YOU MAY NOT LEGISLATE MORALITY, YOU CAN, AND DO, MOST OF THE SOUTH-

ERN STATES, LEGISLATE IMMORALITY: AND UNTIL THOSE EAWS ARE ABROGATED OR REPEALED BY COURT ACTION OF SOME OTHER FORM, YOU CANNOT EVER GET DECENT LIVING AND DECENT ACCEPTANCE OF THE AMERICAN CREED.

RICHTER: WE WILL TURN TO MR. THURGOOD MARSHALL, ATTORNEY FOR THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE:

MARSHALL:

I DON'T KNOW OF A SINGLE BENEFICIAL MOVE TOWARD BENEFITING NEGROES IN THE SOUTH IN THEIR RIGHTS THAT CAME ABOUT OTHER THAN BY LAW SUITS. THEY VOLUNTARILY DID IT AFTER THEY WERE UNDER AN INJUNCTION WHICH SAID IF THEY DIDN'T DO IT THEY WOULD GO TO JAIL. AND I CAN NAME ANY...YOU TAKE VOTING, THE BEAUTIFUL SCHOOLS THEY ARE BUILDING FOR NEGROES. NOT A ONE OF THEM WAS BUILT UNTIL WE START ED THESE LAWSUITS, AND THERE'S NOTHING ELSE:THEY CAN POINT TO IN THE SOUTH THAT DIDN'T COME BACK THROUGH BLOOD, SWEAT, AND TEARS OF THE NEGROES PAYING THE EXPENSES OF THEIR OWN LAWSUITS, AND ALSO THE EXPENSES OF THE STATE'S LAWSUITS BY PAYING THEIR TAXES.

RICHTER: We'll also be hearing from such public figures as Wirs. Eleanor Roosevelt:

MRS. R: Well, I THINK TOLERANCE IS PROBABLY A VERY DISAGREEABLE WORD, AND I DON'T LIKE IT VERY MUCH. BUT...WHERE PEOPLE ARE INTOLERANT, I SUPPOSE ALL YOU CAN DO IS TO HOPE THAT THEY WILL BECOME MORE TOLERANT, AND LESS INTOLERANT. ACTUALLY, THINGS HAVE PROGRESSED SO FAR NOW, THAT I DON'T THINK YOU HAVE TO TALK ABOUT THE SPECIFIC THINGS THAT NEED TO BE DONE AND DONE AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE IN DIFFERENT AREAS.

THESE PEOPLE AND MANY MORE...SOCIOLOGISTS, SOCIAL WORK-RICHTER: ERS. PSYCHOLOGISTS, POLITICIANS...WILL HELP US TO EX+ PLORE THE MANY FACETS OF THE LIFE OF THE NEGRO IN THE UNITED STATES, BUT ALSO THE NATURE OF THE DILEMMA IN 18 WHICH THIS NATION FINDS ITSELF IN RELATION TO HIM. WE HAVE MENTIONED THAT WE WILL LOOK, IN SOME DETAIL, INTO THE VARYING PUBLIC IMAGES OF THE NEGRO. DR. SCHNEIDER HAS GIVEN US SOME UNDERSTANDING OF THE COMPLEXITIES INVOLVED IN THE NEGRO'S SEARCH FOR EQUALITY AND JUSTICE. ONE OF OUR AIMS IN THE COMING WEEKS WILL BE TO UNSCRAM-BLE SOME OF THESE COMPLEXITIES. AND, IN THE COURSE OF DOING THESE THINGS WE WILL TOUDH NOT ONLY ON THE NEGRO! POSITION IN THE NORTH AS WELL AS IN THE SOUTH, BUT ALSO WE WILL LOOK CAREFULLY AT THE QUESTION OF HOUSING, OF EMPLOYMENT, OF EDUCATION, VOTING, CRIME, PREJUDICE, THE CONCEPT, ORCONCEPTION IF YOU WISH, OF "RACE", AND A NUM-BER OF OTHER PHENOMENA.

SCHNEIDER: IN SHORT, OUR PLAN IS TO MAKE AS THOROUGH AN INVESTI-GATION AS WE CAN, OF THE SITUATION OF THE "LAST CITI-

ZEN", AND ATTEMPT TO ANSWER SOME OF THE PUZZLING "WHY'S

RICHTER: : WE FEEL THAT IT WILL BE ESSENTIAL TO AN UNDERSTANDING O
THE REST OF OUR SERIES FOR US TO HAVE A THOROUGH COM-

PREHENSION OF PREJUDICE...WHAT IT IS, HOW IT WORKS...
WHY INDIVIDUALS ARE PREJUDICED. THUS, PREJUDICE WILL BE
OUR TOPIC NEXT WEEK. LOU, WOULD YOU CARE TO GIVE US A
BRIEF IDEA OF THE DIRECTION OUR DISCUSSION WILL TAKE

NEXT WEEK?

SCHNEIDER: FOR SHEER LUCK OF TIME, I CAN'T SUGGEST VERY MUCH ABOUT

IT, BUT I MIGHT MENTION JUST ONE THING WHICH WE WILL BE EXPLORING ... AND THIS IS THAT ${\hbox{NICE}}$ PEOPLE ARE VERY OFTF

THE ONES WHO ARE MOST PREJUDICED.

RICHTER: So Join us next week at this same time when we will con

TINUE OUR DISCUSSION OF "THE LAST CITIZEN" - THE NEGRO

IN AMERICA.

MUSIC THEME UP AND UNDER

ANNCR: You have been listening to Dr. Louis Schneider, Profess

OR OF SOCIOLOGY AT PURDUE UNIVERSITY AND THE PROGRAM'S PRODUCER - DIRECTOR, TE. W. RICHTER, AS THEY'VE DISCUSSET THE LAST CITIZEN. THIS PROGRAM WAS PRODUCED AND RECORED BY WBAA, PURDUE UNIVERSITY, UNDER A GRANT FROM THE EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION AND RADIO CENTER, AND IS BEING DISTRIBUTED BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EDUCATIONAL

BROADCASTERS.

MUSIC THEME UP TO FINISH

ANN CR: THIS IS THE NAEB RADIO NETWORK.

THE LAST CITIZEN

Program #2
The Prejudiced*

MAN I: OH, THEY'RE ALL RIGHT...BUT | WOULDN'T WANT ONE OF 'EM MOVE INTO MY NEIGHBORHOOD.

MAN 2: IT'S JUST A MATTER OF KEEPIN' 'EM IN THEIR PLACE.

WOMAN I: VHY MY MAID TOLD ME, ONLY YESTERDAY, THAT SHE DOESN'T WANT TO SEND HER DAUGHTER TO A WHITE SCHOOL.

MAN I: I TELL YOU, GIVE 'EM A FINGER AND THEY'RE GONNA TAKE
THE WHOLE ARM.

Now I WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT I'M NOT PREJUDICED ... WHY

SOME OF MY BEST FRIENDS ARE....

"YOMAN 2: AND MY HUSBAND SAYS THAT ONCE THE RACES MIX IT'S GOING TO MONGRELIZE THE WHITE RACE.

MAN 1: AFTER ALL, YOU WOULDN'T WANT ONE OF 'EM TO MARRY YOUR DAUGHTER.

MUSIC STINGER

MAN 2:

ANNCR: THE VOICES OF PREJUDICE. THO ARE THEY? ARE THEY YOU?
YOUR NEIGHBOR...ARE THEY, IN FACT, MOST OF US. LISTEN,
AS ME ANSWER THESE AND OTHER QUESTIONS IN DISCUSSING...
"THE LAST CITIZEN".

MUSIC STINGER

ANNOR:

THE LAST CITIZEN: THE NEGRO IN AMERICA. A SERIES OF PROGRAMS DEVOTED TO THE EXTENSION OF OUR KNOWLEDGE OF THE LARGEST MINORITY GROUP IN THE UNITED STATES...

ITS LIFE, ITS PROBLEMS, AND THE PROBLEMS IT POSES TO ALL AMERICANS. THE LAST CITIZEN IS PRODUCED BY RADIO STATION 784A, PURDUE UNIVERSITY, UNDER A GRANT FROM THE COLORATIONAL TELEVISION AND RADIO CENTER IN COOPERATION WITH THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EDUCATIONAL BROAD CASTERS. HERE HOW IS THE PRODUCER OF THE SERIES, E.T. RICHTER TO INTRODUCE TODAY'S PROGRAM.

RICHTER: WITH US AGAIN TODAY IS, DR. LOUIS SCHNEIDER, PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY AT PURDUE UNIVERSITY, TO HELP US FIND OUT ABOUT PREJUDICE...WHAT IT IS, HOW IT WORKS, AND WHO THE PREJUDICED PERSON IS. A FEW DAYS AGO, I WAS THUMBEROW ING THROUGH A BOOK OF QUOTATIONS AND FOUND THESE ON

PREJUDICE: VOLTAIRE WROTE THAT PREJUDICE IS OPINION WITHOUT JUDGEMENT. WILLIAM HAZLITT DEFINED PREJUDICE AS THE CHILD OF IGNORANCE. AND THE AMERICAN AUTHOR. AMBROSE BIERCE CALLED PREJUDICE A VAGRANT OPINION WITHOUT VISIBLE MEANS OF SUPPORT. I THEN TURNED TO EBSTER'S COLLEGIATE DICTIONARYWHICH DEFINES PREJUDICE AS PRECONCEIVED JUDGEMENT OR OPINION; UNREASONABLE PREDILECTION OR OBJECTION; ESPECIALLY, AN OPINION OR LEANING ADVERSE TO ANYTHING WITHOUT JUST GROUNDS OR BEFORE SUFFICIENT KNOWLEDGE. IN ALL OF THESE DEFINI-TIONS THERE IS AN EMPHASIS ON LACK OF KNOWLEDGE. YET, ON THE BASIS OF MY OWN EXPERIENCE, THEY'RE INCOMPLETE. THEY FAILED TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE EMOTIONAL FACTORS OF PREJUDICE. WHAT DO YOU SAY ABOUT IT, LOU?

SCHNEIDER: As one psychologist put it, prejudice involves an att-ITUDE OF FAVOR OR DISFAVOR ... AND IT INCORPORATES AN OVERGENERALIZED BELIEF. THUS PREJUDICE BECOMES A COMBINATION OF THINGS: THE OVERGENERALIZED BELIEF SUGGESTS THE FACTOR OF IGNORANCE. AND THE ATTITUDE OF FAVOR OR DISFAVOR BRINGS IN THE EMOTIONAL DISPOSITION. WHICH IS CERTAINLY ALSO A PART OF PREJUDICE. Now. MANY PROPLE FEEL THAT PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION ARE THE SAME THING. THEY ARE RELATED, TO BE SURE, BUT, THEY'RE DISTINCT PHENOMENA.

RICHTER:

WELL, I HAD THE PLEASURE, SOME TIME AGO, LOU, OF SPEAKING WITH A MAN WHO DISCUSSED THIS VERY POINT. ED HOWDEN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE SAN FRANCISCO COMMISSION OF EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES ... A MAN WHO HAS SPENT MANY YEARS WORKING IN THE AREA OF INTER-GROUP RELATIONS:

HOWDEN:

THERE'S A COMMON AND WIDESPREAD ASSUMPTION THAT DIS-CRIMINATION FLOWS FROM PREJUDICE. WELL, IN THE TERMS OF THE POPULAR SONG "IT AIN'T NECESSARILY SO". YOU CAN HAVE, LET US ASSUME A COMPLETE FREEDOM FROM PER-SONAL PREJUDICE. YOU ARE AN INFORMED INDIVIDUAL. YOU KNOW THE FACTS OF MODERN ANTHROPOLOGY.....NO IN-NATE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN RACES...NO INNATE DIFFERENCES IN INHERENT MENTAL CAPACITY, ETCETERA, ETCETERA. So THAT YOU DON'T HOLD ANY OF THESE MYTHOLOGICAL TRIBAL NOTIONS. AND YET, YOU. . . AND OF COURSE I'M USING THIS HIGHLY IMPERSONALLY, MR. RICHTER...MAY BE A HOMEOWNER ON A BLOCK WHO HAS BEEN TOLD, PRESUMABLY ON VERY GOOD AUTHORITY, WHAT HAPPENS TO PROPERTY VALUES AND A LOT OF THINGS OF THAT SORT. AND THEREFORE, IN A GIVEN SITUATION YOU MAY BE UNCERTAIN AS TO HOW TO ACT TOWARD WHAT SOME PEOPLE IN THE BLOCK SEEM TO FEEL IS QUITE A THREAT TO THE NEIGHBORHOOD IF THIS NON-WHITE FAMILY

IS ABOUT TO BUY OR MOVE IN.... SUPPOSE YOU'RE ABOUT TO SELL YOUR HOME, AND YOU'D LIKE TO SELL IT ON A NON-DISCRIMINATORY BASIS. AND SUDDENLY YOU FIND YOURSELF DELUGED WITH PRESSURE FROM NEIGHBORS OF PERSONAL PRE-JUDICE. YOUR VIEWS ON THE SUBJECT HAVEN T CHANGED. YET, YOUR BEHAVIOR MIGHT CHANGE UNDER PRESSURE ... CONVERSELY, A PERSON MAY BE DEEPLY PREJUDICED, AND YET HE MAY BE FUNCTIONING, LET US SAY, IN AN EMPOLYMENT SITUATION IN WHICH THE TOP MANAGEMENT SAYS, "WE'RE NOT GOING TO HAVE ANY OF THIS STUPIDITY OF EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION IN THIS FIRM, AND ALL OF OUR SUPER-VISORS AND FORMENT, AND DEPARTMENT HEADS ARE GOING TO COMPLY WITH THE POLICY OF MERIT EMPLOYMENT". WE'RE GONNA HIRE PEOPLE ACCORDING TO WHAT THEY CAN DO, NOT ACCORDING TO WHAT THEY LOOK LIKE, OR WHAT THEIR AN-CESTORS WERE CHARACTERIZED AS, AND SO ON. AND SO YOU MAY RETAIN AND CHERISH YOUR PRIVATE PREJUDICIAL NO-. TIONS TO WHICH YOU HAVE A PERFECT RIGHT. BUT IN YOUR FUNCTIONING AS A, LET'S SAY, A DEPARTMENT HEAD IN THIS PARTICULAR FIRM YOU'D BETTER CONFORM TO THAT POLICY I YOUR BEHAVIOR, OR PRESUMABLY YOU WON'T BE WITH THE FIRM VERY LONG...SO THAT IT CAN WORK IN ALL KINDS OF COMBINATIONS ACROSS THE SCALE.

RICHTER:

THE PRIMARY DIFFERENCE, THEN, AS MR. HOWDEN EXPLAINS IT, BETWEEN PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION IS THAT DISCRIMINATION, INVOLVES ACTION, WHEREAS PREJUDICE IS AN INTERNAL, PERSONAL ATTITUDE OR STATE OF MIND. BUT WHY IS IT THAT SO MANY PEOPLE ARE PREJUDICED, LOU? NICE PEOPLE. IN FACT, I'D SAY THAT MOST OF US ARE IN SOME WAY PREJUDICED.

SCHNEIDER:

I THINK YOU'VE SUGGESTED AN IMPORTANT POINT, WALT. A POINT THAT SOME "VERY NICE" PEOPLE ARE PREJUDICED... AND IT'S IMPORTANT TO UNDERSTAND THIS. YOU SEE, PREJUDICE IS NOT NECESSARILY AN ATTRIBUTE OF WHAT WE MIGHT CONSIDER AN "EVIL" OR "BAD" PERSON. BUT IT IS OFTEN AN ATTRIBUTE OF "NICE" PEOPLE...IN GIVEN SITUATIONS THEY ARE PREJUDICED BECAUSE THEY ARE NICE.

RICHTER:

I'M AFRAID I DON'T QUITE FOLLOW YOU, LOU.

SCHNEIDER:

ALL RIGHT...YOU MAY REMEMBER THAT GUNNAR MYRDAL, IN HIS STUDY OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO ENTITLED THE AMERICAN DILEMMA, WAKES A GREAT DEAL OF WHAT HE CALLS "THE AMERICAN CREED"...THAT CREED WHICH EMPHASIZES JUSTICE, AND EQUALITY UNDER THE LAW, AND DEMOCRACY.

RICHTER:

THE ETERNAL VERITIES OF LIFE IN AMERICA AS WE TRE

SCHNEIDER:

Now Myrdal, in evaluating the position of the Negro in American society uses this creed as a yardstick... even though he realizes that conduct based on this creed does not always prevail in American Life... That Americans don't always live up to the creed.

RICHTER:

THE WRITER, LILLIAN SMITH MADE QUITE A POINT OF THIS, LOU, WHEN WE VISITED HER AT HER HOME IN CLAYTON, GEORGIA:

SMITH:

EVEN WHEN I WAS VERY YOUNG, ALTHOUGH I WAS SHELTERED AND PROTECTED. I BACAME AWARE OF THE FACT THAT I LIVES IN A TOWN WHERE THERE WERE INVISIBLE WALLS, AND THAT THOSE WALLS MEANT A GREAT DEAL TO EVERYBODY IN THE TOWN. I THINK I FOUND OUT IN CHURCH, WHEN I WAS QUITE SMALL, WHEN I REALIZED THAT MY LITTLE COLORED PLAY-MATES - AND EVERY SOUTHERN CHILD HAD COLORED PLAY-MATES - THAT THEY DIDN'T GO TO MY CHURCH. THAT IN MY NICE BIG CHURCH THERE WERE ONLY WHITE PEOPLE-WHITE FACES. NOW, I DIDN'T TALK TO MY SELF ABOUT IT IN WORDS - I DON'T THINK A CHILD DOES THAT. I ... | FELT IT. AND I WONDERED ABOUT IT. ... I ALSO REALIZED THAT THESE INVISIBLE WALLS WERE UP, WHEN AFTER PLAYING WITH MY LITTLE COLORED FRIENDS FREELY, BUT ALWAYS IN THE BACK YARD, I WAS TOLD THAT I WAS TOO OLD TO HAVE : LITTLE COLORED FRIENDS, AND

RICHTER:

AT WHAT AGE DID THIS OCCUR?

SMITH:

OH, IT MUST HAVE BEEN ABOUT NINE OR TEN I'D SAY. AND I REMEMBER SAYING "WHY MOTHER, WHY DAD, WHY IS THIS TRUE?"...AND ALWAYS THE ANSWER WAS... "YOU'RE TOO YOUN TO KNOW, BUT SOMEDAY YOU WILL UNDERSTAND THAT IT'S IMPOSSIBLE FOR YOU TO CONTINUE TO SEE YOUR LITTLE PLAYMATES". AND THIS DEEPLY TROUBLED ME. IT HURT ON A VERY PERSONAL LEVEL OF MY LIFE...THE LEVEL OF 1 11 FRIENDSHIP. AND I DIDN'T UNDERSTAND IT ... I DIDN'T KNOW WHAT IT WAS ABOUT. BECAUSE AT THE SAME TIME THAT THESE INVISIBLE WALLS WERE BEING CONSTRUCTED BETWEEN ME AND THE WORLD ... AND AS MUCH OF THE WORLD I WAS ALSO BEING TRAINED TO BE A GOOD LITTLE AMERICAN. I WAS ALWAYS TOLD THAT DEMOCRACY IS A WONDERFUL THING. AND I WAS ALSO TOLD THAT YOU MUST TREAT EVERYONE DECENTLY AND WITH COURTESY BECAUSE ALL PEOPLE ARE HUMAN BEINGS AND ALTHOUGH I WAS TOLD THAT, AND ALSO THAT AS A CHRISTIAN ONE BELIEVES IN KINDNESS AND BROTHERHOOD. . . AND SO I WAS LEARNING THE LESSONS OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION, AND THE LESSONS OF DEMOCRACY, BUT AT THE SAME TIME I WAS LEARNING THE LESSONS OF SEGREGATION BETWEEN THE TWO RACES.

SCHNEIDER:

THINK MISS SMITH MAKES THE FACT OF A CERTAIN DUALIT IN AMERICAN LIFE QUITE VIVID FOR US. AGAINST A BACK-GROUND OF THIS DUALITY ... ON THE ONE HAND COMPLETE ADHERENCE TO THE AMERICAN CREED, AND ON THE OTHER COMPLETE REJECTION OF IT.....WITH MOST OF US FALLING, IN OUR BEHAVIOR, SOMEWHERE IN BETWEEN...LET ME TRY TO EXTEND WHAT MYRDAL HAS TO SAY ABOUT THE AMERICAN CREED IN RELATION TO TYPES OF PERSONALITY AND IN TERMS OF PREJUDICE. THIS WAY, PERHAPS, WE CAN UNDERSTAND WHY IT IS THAT "NICE PEOPLE" ARE PREJUDICED. LET'S FIRST OF ALL CONSIDER THE ONE SIDE OF THE DUALITY - THE UNEQUIVOCAL ACCEPTANCE OR THE VALUES EXPRESSED IN THE AMERICAN CREED. Now, IF WE COULD FIND A PERSON WHO GAVE THESE VALUES UNEQUIVOCAL ACCEPTANCE. HE WOULD. IDEALLY BE INCAPABLE...COMPLETELY INCAPABLE...OF PRE-JUDICE. IF SOMEONE WERE TO PRESENT THIS PERSON WITH A THEORY ... A RACIALISTIC THEORY, REPLETE WITH "PROOFS SUPPOSEDLY SHOWING BEYOND A DOUBT THAT THE NEGRO WAS INFERIOR...THIS PERSON WOULDN'T FIND ANY ATTRACTION IN SUCH A THEORY, EVEN THOUGH IT MIGHT APPEAR TO JUST-IFY PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION. HE MIGHT WELL RE-SPOND BY SAYING, "IF THE NEGRO DOES NOT HAVE OUR CAP-ACITIES IT IS OUR DUTY TO SEE TO IT THAT OUR UNFORT-UNATELY HANDICAPPED BROTHER IS GIVEN SPECIAL OPPOR-TUNITIES AND PROTECTION. TO GOING TO THE OTHER EXTREME OF THE DUALITY WE FIND THE PERSON WHO IS IN NO WAY INVOLVED WITH THE VALUES OF THE AMERICAN CREED. HE TAKES FROM LIFE AND THE WORLD WHAT HE WANTS AND CAN GET WITH NO REGARD TO ANYONE ELSE, AND WITH NO QUALMS of conscience whatever. Justice, Democracy...such WORDS HAVE ABSOLUTELY NO MEANING FOR THIS PERSON. IN THE CASE OF THE NEGRO. HE'LL MAKE WHATEVER GAINS HE CAN AT THE NIEGRO'S EXPENSE . IT'S CONVENIENT ENOUGH TO SAY ECONOMIC, SEXUAL, AND PRESTIGE GAINS. BUT REGARDLESS OF WHAT GAINS HE MAKES OR WHAT HE MAKES OR WHAT HE DOES TO MAKE THOSE GAINS. HE DOES WHAT HE DOES WITHOUT A SINGLE THOUGHT ABOUT THE RIGHT-NESS OR WRONGNESS OF HIS ACTS. NOW, WOULD SUCH A PER-SON...IF SUCH A PERSON EXISTED...BE AT ALL ATTRACTED BY THE RACIALIST THEORY WE SPOKE OF EARLIER? THE THEORY THAT PURPORTS TO SHOW THAT THE NEGRO IS BORN TO BE THE WHITE MAN'S SERVANT AND SUBORDINATE? THE ANSWER, I THINK, IS NO. HE HAS NO NEED FOR SUCH A THING. TO MAKE MY POINT CLEARER, LET'S COMPARE THIS CONSCIENCELESS, EXPLOITATIVE PERSON WITH A GREAT JUNGLO CAT THAT MAKES A FINE LIVING FROM THE HUNTING OF DEER. ONE DAY THIS CAT IS VISITED BY MAN...A MAN WHO HAS WRITTEN A BOOK. AND THE BOOK PROVES "THAT ALL ANTE-LOPES WERE CREATED FOR THE SPECIAL PURPOSE OF PROVID-ING SPORT AND NOURISHMENT FOR THE GREAT CAT". WHAT'S

REACTION OF THE CAT? HE'S SIMPLY NOT INTERESTED. HE REFLECTS BRIEFLY THAT THE DEER DO MAKE GOOD SPORT AND ARE GOOD TO EAT, BUT THEN HE FEELS HUNGRY, AND WITHOUT WASTING TIME ON JUSTIFYING HIMSELF BY A SUPPOSED PHILOSOPHY, EDTHER POUNCES ON THE NEXT DEER THAT COMES ALONG, OR FOR WANT OF THE DEER EATS THE MAN ITO HIM, FRESH MEAT IS FRESH MEAT. AND THAT'S SOME+THING LIKE THE CASE OF OUR SECOND CATEGORY OF PERSONS WHO, WITHOUT THE SLIGHTEST QUALMS OF CONSCIENCE EXPLOIT THE NEGRO...OR ANYONE ELSE THAT COMES ALONG... IN ALL WAYS POSSIBLE WITH NO ATTEMPT TO RATIONALIZE BEHAVIOR BY INSISTING ON THE SUPPOSED INFERIORITY OF THEIR VICTIM.

RICHTER:

YOUR POINT THEN IS THAT MOST OF US FALL SOMEWHERE BETWEEN THE TWO EXTREMES THAT YOU'VE JUST DRAWN. WE MAY BE EXPLOITATIVE, BUT WE HAVE A NEED TO JUSTIFY THIS EXPLOITATIVE BEPAVIOR.

SCHNEIDER

EXACTLY. OUR THIRD CATEGORY OF INDIVIDUALS IS MADE UP OF THE "NICE PEOPLE"...THE PEOPLE WHO ARE AT LEAST PARTIALLY IMBUED WITH THE VALUES OF THE AMERICAN CREED...WHO BELIEVE IN JUSTICE AND DEMOCRACY BUT ARE AT THE SAME TIME WILLING TO MAKE THE GAINS WE SPOKE OF AT THE EXPENSE OF OTHERS...IN THE CASE OF OUR DISCUSSION, THE NEGRO.

RICHTER:

WELL, I THINK, PERHAPS, YOU MIGHT CLARIFY WHAT IT IS THAT YOU MEAN BY GAINS. LOU.

SCHNEIDER:

I'LL GIVE EXAMPLES OF EACH TYPE. AND ECONOMIC GAIN MADE AT THE EXPENSE OF A NEGRO MIGHT COME IN THE FORM OF GREATER PROFIT TO A PLANTER OR MANUFACTURER WHO HIRES NEGROES FOR LESS PAY THAN HE COULD ANYONE ELSE OR IT MAY BE THAT A HOUSEWIFE CAN AFFORBTO HAVE NEGRO SERVANTS BECAUSE SHE DOESN'T HAVE TO PAY NEGRO: MUCH. A PRESTIGE GAIN IS MADE, AGAIN BY WAY OF EXAMPLE, BY THE SOUTHERN POOR-WHITE, BECAUSE HE CAN FEEL SUPERIOR TO NEGROES...ALL NEGROES, REGARDLESS OF THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS. SEXUAL GAIN IS PROBABLY DECLINING NOW...BUT CERTAINLY IN THE PAST NO SOUTHERN WHITE MAN NEEDED TO FEAR LEGAL ACTION, OR EVEN CENSURE, IF HE MOLESTED A NEGRO WOMAN.

RICHTER:

ALL RIGHT. ASSUMING FOR THE MOMENT THAT PEOPLE IN OUR THIRD CATEGORY, THE "NICE PEOPLE" DD MAKE SUCH GAINS. WHAT'S YOUR ARGUMENT ABOUT THEM?

SCHNEIDER

WELL, IF THEY WERE LIKE PERSONS IN OUR FIRST CATEGOR'S THEY WOULD REPUDIATE PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATORY BEHAVIOR AS BEING COUNTER TO THE AMERICAN CREED AND THEY'D HAVE NO USE FOR RACIALISTIC THEORIES. IF THEY WERE LIKE PERSONS IN OUR SECOND CATEGORY, THEY WOULD

FEEL THAT NOTHING OF VALUE OR IMPORTANCE WAS TO BE FOUND IN A RACIALISTIC THEORY. THE GREAT CAT, RE-MEMBER, WAS COMPLETELY UNINTERESTED IN THE MAN'S PHILOSOPHIC THEORY...HIS ONLY INTEREST WAS IN FOOD AND SPORT. BUT, A RACIALISTIC THEORY IS LIKELY TO BE EXTREMELY ATTRACTIVE TO THE MEMBERS OF OUR THIRD CATEGORY OF PERSONS. WHY? BECAUSE TO AN APPRECIABLE DEGREE THEY ARE NICE PEOPLE - PEOPLE WITH CONSCIENCES, PEOPLE WHO HAVE SOME DEGREE OF FAITH IN THE AMERICAN CREED. THEY NEED, AND CAN DEFINITELY USE, SUCH THE-ORIES AND PHILOSOPHIES TO VINDICATE THEIR WAYS AND TO SMOOTH THEIR RUFFLED CONSCIENCES. HENCE, I MIGHT ADD, THE NEGRO NOT ONLY FINDS THAT POOPLE LIKE THESE ARE MAKING GAINS AT HIS EXPENSE, BUT IN ADDITION THAT THEY GRASP AT VIEWS AND THEORIES WHICH SUPPOSEDLY SHOW HIS, THE NEGRO'S, INFERIORITY. INSTEAD OF MAK-ING GAINS AND THEN LEAVING THE NEGRO ALONE, THESE PEOPLE, AS IT WERE, PILE INSULT ON INJURY BY ESPOUSIN VIEWS AND THEORIES WHICH GIVE EASEMENT TO THEIR CON-SCIENCES.

RICHTER:

NOULD YOU MIND GIVING US A CASE IN POINT?

SCHNEIDER:

TAKE THE SOUTHERN PLANTERS, WHO IN THE PAST, AND EVEN TODAY, HAVE BEEN AND ARE, TAKING ADVANTAGE OF NEGRO SHARE-CROPPERS - OR EVEN WHITE SHARE CROPPERS, WHEN POSSIBLE. THE CROPPER'S SHARE IS, IN THE FIRST PLACE LIKELY ENOUGH TO BE A RATHER MEAGER ONE. THEN, THE PLANTER ALSO ACTS AS STORE-KEEPER AND BANKER FOR HIS CROPPERS. HE ADVANCES MONEY AND GOODS THROUGHOUT THE YEAR TO KEEP THEM CLOTHED AND FED. AT THE TIME OF RECKONING, IN MANY CASES THE PLANTER WILL DELIBERATE-LY FALSIFY HIS ACCOUNTS IN ORDER TO KEEP THE CROPPER INDEBTED TO HIM AND ON THE LAND. NOW, OUR PLANTER HAS BEEN TO SCHOOL, HE'S PERHAPS A MEMBER IN GOOD STANDING IN HIS CHURCH, HE HAS A FAMILY TO WHICH HE'S DEVOTED, AND HE IS RECOGNIZED AS AN OUTSTANDING CITI-ZEN BY HIS NEIGHBORS. HOW CAN WE RECONCILE WITH THEC THINGS THE DISHONESTY IN KEEPING FROM THE SHARE-CROP-PER HIS DUE? OUR MAN CAN'T SIMPLY EXPLOIT THE CROP-PERS AND LET IT GO AT THAT. HIS WHOLE TRAINING, HIS BACKGROUND IN CHURCH AND SCHOOL DEMAND THAT HE JUST-IFY HIS BEHAVIOR. AND SO HE DOES. HE MAY INSIST THA HIS ACTIONS ARE SOLELY FOR THE "GOOD" OF THE SHARE-CROPPER. HE'LL POINT OUT THAT THE CROPPER IS IGNOR-ANT ... THE ONLY WORK HE'S FIT FOR IS WORK ON THE SOIL . HE'LL TELL YOU THAT THE CROPPER IS IMPROVIDENT ... HE DOESN'T KNOW WHAT TO DO WITH MONEY, EVEN WHEN HE HAS IT; THAT, IN FACT, HE, THE PLANTER, IS BEING PROTECT-IVE OF THE NEGRO OR POOR-WHITE, BY SEEING TO IT THAT HE ALWAYS HAS A ROOF OVER HIS HEAD AND FOOD ON THE TABLE - THINGS THAT THE IMPROVIDENT FELLOW WOULD BE

UNLIKELY TO ENSURE FOR THEMSELVES. IN OTHER WORDS, OUR KINDLY, RELIGIOUS, WELL BROUGHT UP SOUTHERN PLANTER MUST PROVE TO HIMSELF THE INFERIORITY OF HIS CROPPERS. THUS, NOT ONLY DOES HE TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THEM, BUT HE ALSO FEELS COMPELLED TO DEGRADE THEM. OF COURSE, I DON'T ARGUE THAT ALL PLANTERS WILL BE THIS WAY....ONLY THE RELATIVELY "NICE" ONES.

RICHTER:

WELL, ACCORDING TO YOUR ARGUMENT, LOU, IF PEOPLE WERE NICE ENOUGH, THEY WOULDN'T TOLERATE PREJUDICE IN THEM SELVES, IF THEY WERE NOT "NICE" AT ALL, THEY WOULD BE PREDATORY RATHER THAT THAN PREJUDICED. BUT SINCE SO MANY FALL IN BETWEEN, THE ORDINARY "NICE" PERSON TEND TO BE PREJUDICED...TO PRESENT HIS VICTIM IN AN UNFAVE ABLE LIGHT AT THE SIME TIME THAT HE DOES HIM INJURY. BUT ONE THING BOTHERS ME, LOU. YOUR EXAMPLES HAVE ALL BEEN EXTREME.EXAMPLESLOF PREJUDICED PEOPLE...BUT WHAT ABOUT THE ORDINARY PERSON WHO MAY RARELY, IF EVECOME INTO CONTACT WITH A NEGRO IN A SITUATION FROM WHICH HE GAINS? WHAT ABOUT THOSE OF US WHO ARE PREJUDICED SIMPLY BECAUSE WE WERE BROUGHT UP...TAUGHT TO BE PREJUDICED?

SCHNEIDER:

I DON'T MEAN SAY, WALT, THAT PREJUDICE INVARIABLY HAS THE KIND OF BACKGROUND I'VE INDICATED. I AM SUGGEST-ING, HOWEVER, THAT THE BACKGROUND WHICH I'VE BEEN DEVELOPING IS A CRUCIALLY IMPORTANT ONE...MORE IMPORT-ANT THAN ANY OTHER, I FEEL, PARTLY BECAUSE PREJUDICE THAT LACKS THE SPRINGS OR BACKGROUNDS OF VARIOUS KING OF GAIN IS RELATIVELY EASILY COMBATTED, AND WITHOUT SUCH SPRINGS WOULD MORE READILY DISAPPEAR. PREJUDICE NOT ONLY HAS A CERTAIN PLACE WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF OUR THINKING, BUT WE MUST LEARN TO LOOK UPON IT AS PPEFORMING CERTAIN SOCIAL FUNCTIONS. PREJUDICED ATTI TUDES GIVE CRUCIALLY SIGNIFICANT JUSTIFICATIONS TO DISCRIMINATORY BEHAVIOR. SUPPOSE WE DO "SIMPLY LEAR" PREJUDICE FROM CONTACT WITH OTHERS, AND THERE WERE NOWHERE IN THE UNITED STATES EVEN A HINT OF THESE GAINS MADE AT THE EXPENSE OF THE NEGRO TO WHICH I'VE BEEN REFERRING...SEXUAL, PRESTIGE, ECONOMIC. | THINK WE CAN SEE THAT PREJUDICE WOULD THEN BE A MUCH EASIER THING TO ATTACK AND REDUCE TO VIRTUALLY NOTHING. BE-CAUSE OF THE EXISTENCE OF DISCRIMINATION, WHICH IS THE PROCESS OF GAINING IN THE WAYS I'VE INDICATED, PREJUC ICE GETS A MUCH MORE POWERFUL LEASE ON LIFE. I MIGHT EVEN SAY THAT THERE ARE NOW "REASONS" FOR IT. IT PRE-FORMS THE FUNCTION OF SHOWING DISCRIMINATION TO "RIGHT APPROPRIATE, JUSTIFIED.

PERHAPS OUR MOST IMPORTANT POINTS, THUS FAR, ARE THAT NICE PEOPLE ARE IN CERTAIN WAYS PARTICULARLY SUSCEPTIBLE TO PREJUDICE...AND THAT PREJUDICE TIES IN IMPORT ANT WAYS WITH CERTAIN GAINS MADE BY AT LEAST SOME MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY IN WHICH THE PREJUDICE OCCURS. BUT WHAT ABOUT THE STRUCTURE OF PREJUDICE ITSELF? IN WHAT WAYS AND WITH WHAT BACKGROUNDS ARE PEOPLE PREJUDICED?

SCHNEIDER:

THAT'S A LARGE QUESTION, MALT...AND I CAN HOPE TO ANSWER IT ONLY PARTIALLY. I MIGHT BEGIN BY NOTING THAT THERE IS EVIDENCE THAT THE EDUCATED ARE RELA-TIVELY LESS PREJUDICED THAN THE UNEDUCATED. ONE CAN SPEAK OF IGNORANT PREJUDICE ... PREJUDICE THAT IS SUS-TAINED ON A FOUNDATION OF MISINFORMATION, OR LACK OF INFORMATION. APPROPRIATE INFORMATION CAN ... WHERE PREJUDICE IS GROUNDED SOLELY, OR NEARLY SO, IN IGNOR-ANCE, BE ENORMOUSLY ENLIGHTENING AND EMANIPATING. BUT MATTERS ARE BY NO MEANS ALWAYS SO SIMPLE. FOR EXAMPLE, WE HAVE TO RECOGNIZE THAT THERE IS ALSO SUCH A THING AS EXPEDIENT PREJUDICE. WE ASSOCIATE WITH OTHERS WHOM WE LIKE AND WHOSE OPINIONS WE VALUE. NEIGHBORS, FOR EXAMPLE. NOW THEY, IT HAPPENS, ARE PREJUDICED. IN ORDER NOT TO ANTAGONIZE THEM...IN ORDER NOT TO BE EXCLUDED BY THEM...WE PROFESS A PRE-JUDICE OF EXPEDIENCY ... PREJUDICE WE DO NOT FEEL OUR-SELVES. WE GIVE AN IMITATION, OR MAKE A SHOW OF PRE-JUDICE. WE OFTEN DO THIS IN A CONCILIATORY WAY ... A WAY WHICH WE FEEL COULDN'T POSSIBLY HARM THE NEGRO FOR EXAMPLE...A LIBERAL NORTHERNER ASSOCIATING WITH GENERALLY CONGENIAL SOUTHERNERS MAY FIND HIMSELF ACQUIESCING IN OPINIONS AND ATTITUDES RELATING TO TH NEGRO WHICH HE DOESN'T REALLY BELIEVE AT ALL. HE DOESN'T WISH TO WOUND HIS RELATIONS WITH PLEASANT ASSOCIATES. HE MAY BE VERY SELF-CRITICAL LATER. OR WHEN HIS CONTACTS WITH THE PARTICULAR GROUP HAVE LAPSED HE MAY RETURN TO HIS ORIGINAL NON-EXPRESSION OF PREJUDICE HE DOES NOT FEEL.

RICHTER:

BUT WHAT ABOUT THE PERSON WHO RESISTS TO HIS UTMOST ALL REASONING RELATING TO HIS PREJUDICE...TENACIOUSL IN FACT, CLINGS TO HIS PREJUDICED BELIEFS?

SCHNEIDER:

ELL, THIS IS A MOST INTERESTING FORM OF PREJUDICE..

OFTEN, NO DOUBT, PEOPLE LIKE THIS MAY HAVE WHAT WE
CALL PSYCHODYNAMICALLY MOTIVATED PREJUDICES. ONE
MAY CLING TO A PREJUDICE WITH SPECIAL TENACITY DESPITE ALL RATIONAL ARGUMENTS IN THE WORLD BECAUSE, LET
US SAY, SCAPEGOATING IS VIRTUALLY A NECESSITY OF
ONE'S BEING. THUS THE SOUTHERN POOR WHITE SEEKS AN

ANSWER TO WHY HE'S NEVER BEEN GIVEN AN "EVEN BREAK" BY THE HIGHER ECHELONS OF WHITE SOCIETY ABOVE HIM. HE BECOMES BITTER, RESENTFUL. BUT THE RESENTMENT MAY, FOR VERY GOOD REASONS, HAVE VERY LIMITED OUTLETS IN MANY CASES THE POOR WHITE...THE SHARE-CROPPER IF YOU WISH...MIGHT EXPRESS HIS RESENTMENT AGAINST MORE POWERFUL, MORE INFLUENTIAL, AND RICHER WHITES. BUT BECAUSE OF THE HARD FACT THAT THESE OTHERS ARE MORE POWERFUL, THE EXPRESSION OF RESENTMENT AGAINST THEM BECOMES UNWISE, AND IS LIKELY TO BE VERY UNCOMFORTABL IN ITS CONSEQUENCES. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE NEGRO MAY REPRESENT A CONVENIENT TARGET FOR THE RESENTMENT. LE GET HERE THE PHENOMENON OF DISPLACED AGRESSION. IN OTHER MORDS, HOSTILITIES, RESENTMENTS, ANIMOSOTIES ARE DEFLECTED FROM THEIR ORIGINAL OBJECTS BECAUSE THE ORIGINAL OBJECTS ARE DANGEROUS. BUT THE HOSTILITIES STILL EXIST AND FIND A CONVENIENT OUTLET ELSEWHERE. SCAPEGOATS ARE OBVIOUSLY CONVENIENT.

RICHTER: AND ONE CAN'T ATTACK SUCH A POWERFULLY MOTIVATED FEELING OF RESENTMENT, OR SENSE OF BEING CHEATED, MERELY
BY GIVING CORRECT INFORMATION.

SCHNEIDER: RIGHT. THE SENSE OF BEING CHEATED AND THE RESENTMENT PERSIST DESPITE ALL THE CORRECT INFORMATION IN THE WORLD...AND CORRECT INFORMATION MAY NOT EVEN GET A CHANCE FOR A HEARING BECAUSE PEOPLE'S SHEER REQUIREMENT OF SOMETHING OR SOMEBODY TO HIT AT IS SO POWERFUL IN THE FIRST PLACE.

RICHTER: AND I SUPPOSE IT'S POSSIBLE FOR PEOPLE TO BE PREJUDICEDNOT ONLY IN ONE OF THE THREE WAYS MENTIONED, BUT
IN MANY COMBINATIONS OF IGNORANT, EXPEDIENT, OR PSYCHODYNAMIC MOTIVATION.

SCHNEIDER: THAT'S RIGHT.

RICHTER: SO NOW WE HAVE SOME UNDERSTANDING OF THE TYPES OF PREJUDICE, AND THE WAYS IN WHICH PEOPLE ARE PREJUDICE. BUT WHAT ABOUT PREJUDICE ITSELF?...HOW DOES PREJUDICE WORK...HOW DOES IT WORK BY ITSELF? HOW DOES IT WORK IN COMBINATION WITH DISCRIMINATION?

WHAT ARE SOME OF THE THINGS THAT BUILD UP AND SUSTAIN PREJUDICE, LOU?

SCHNEIDER: ONE OF THE MOST EVIDENT SUSTAINING FACTORS, OR EVEN EVOKING FACT FACTORS IN PREJUDICE IS THE "BAD SAMPLE." SAYING, "I REALIZE THAT MY EXPERIENCE WITH NEGROES IS VERY LIMITED...BUT THIS TIME I WAS DOWN IN BIRMINGHAM..." HER THE PERSON IS IN EFFECT. TELLING US THATE HE REALIZES THAT HIS SAMPLING IS ALL OFF, YET HE HAS AN UNDERLYING PERSUASION THAT THE CASE HE'S CITING OR THE STORY HE'S TELLING IS IN SOME WAY REPRESENTATIVE OR TYPICAL.

AND IT'S GENERALLY HARD TO ARGUE WITH SUCH PEOPLE ABOUT SUCH THINGS. WHAT THEY'VE SEEN AND EXPERIENCE IS FREQUENTLY MUCH MORE VALID TO THEM THAN THE 08-SERVATION AND EXPERIENCE OF OTHERS...AND SOMETIMES EVEN THEIR OWN SUBSEQUENT OBSERVATION AND EXPERIENCE

SCHNEIDER:

IT'S NO USE PRETENDING THAT THIS IS AN EASY THING TO COMBAT. PEOPLE WILL GENERALIZE ON THE BASIS OF VERY SPECIAL KINDS OF DATA. HOWEVER, THE SITUATION ISN'T HOPELESS...THERE ARE SOME CORRECTIVES SEEPING THROUGH TO THE GENERAL POPULATION THROUGH THE WORK OF SOCIAL SCIENTISTS, PSYCHOLOGISTS, AND OTHERS. BUT THIS REMAINS AN IMPORTANT FRONT TO FIGHT ON...A FRONT THAT WE CAN BE FAIRLY CERTAIN WON'T DISAPPEAR OVERNIGHT.

RICHTER:

WHAT YOU SAY BRINGS TO MIND A CONVERSATION I HAD NOT LONG AGO WITH A MAN WHO EMPLOYS NEGROES. IN HIS ESTIMATION, AND TO HIM THIS HAS BEEN BORNE OUT BY HIS EXPERIENCE, A NEGRO IS INCAPABLE OR UNWILLING TO TURE OUT AS MUCH WORK AS A WHITE PERSON IN THE SAME JOB. AND I BELIEVE THIS MAN WAS SINCERE IN THIS BELIEF. AFTER ALL, HE HAD HAD NEGROES WORKING UNDER HIM FOR MORE THAN TWENTY YEARS. AND I SUPPOSE THIS ALSO COULD BE AN EXAMPLE OF THE BAD SAMPLE PHENOMENON.

SCHNEIDER:

IT MIGHT WELL BE. HOWEVER, WE OFTEN PRODUCE OR HELP TO PRODUCE IN THE OBJECTS OF OUR PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATORY BEHAVIOR ATTRIBUTES WHOSE CAUSATION WE CONVENIENTLY FORGET. IN THIS CONNECTION I'D PARTICULARLY LIKE UP TO PAY ATTENTION TO WHAT THE SOCIOLOGIST ROBERT K. MERTON HAS CALLED THE SELF-FULFILL INGPROPHESY. YOU MAY REMEMBER THAT GENERAL PHIL SHERIDAN USED TO SAY THAT THE ONLY GOOD INDIAN WAS A DEAD INDIAN. SUPPOSE WHITE MEN ACT ON THIS PREMIS AND TREAT INDIANS ACCORDINGLY. WHAT HAPPENS THEN?

RICHTER:

WELL, I'VE SEEN ENOUGH WESTERNS TO MAKE A GOOD GUESS WHENEVER A WHITE MAN COMES ON AN INDIAN HE'LL IMMEDIATELY WANT TO MAKE HIM A GOOD INDIAN. AND THEN THE INDIAN, FINDING HIMSELF SHOT AT WHENEVER HE ENCOUNTERS A WHITE MAN, IS GOING TO TURN AROUND AND TRY TO KILL WHITE MEN WHEN EVER HE SEES ANY OF THEM.

SCHNEIDER:

YES, AND THEREBY SHERIDAN'S OBSERVATION WOULD BE SEEM TO BE VERIFIED. THAT THE ONLY GOOD INDIAN IS A DEAD INDIAN, FOR AFTER ALL, WHITE MEN WOULD SAY, "YOU SEE, WHENEVER YOU COME ACROSS AN INDIAN HE TRIE TO KILL YOU. ANY MAN OF GOOD SENSE CAN TELL THAT THE ONLY GOOD INDIAN IS A DEAD ONE." THIS ILLUSTRATES THE MECHANISM OF THE SELF-FULFILLING PROPHESY OF COURSE, WHAT THE WHITE MAN QUITE OVERLOCKS AS HIS

OWN SHARE IN MAKING THE INDIAN WHAT HE FINALLY APPEARS TO BE. THE MECHANISM IS A VERY WIDELY OPERATIVE ONE. WE CALL JEWS EXCLUSIVE, PROCEED TO SHUN THEM ON THE GROUND THAT THEY WILL HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH US, AND THEN DISCOVER THAT THEY SEEM TO BE RELUCTANT TO ASSOCIATE WITH NON-JEWS. AND INDEED, THEY MAY WELL HAVE REACTED DEFENSIVELY AGAINST THE EXCLUSION BY US BY WITHDRAWING INTO THEIR OWN GROUPS AND NOT MAKING THEMSELVES SUSCEPTIBLE TO WHAT THEY PRECEIVE AS REBUFFS.

RICHTER:

OR BY THE SAME TOKEN, I SUPPOSE, THE WHITE MAN EMPLOING N EGROES STARTS WITH THE PRESUMPTION THAT NEGROE ARE LAZY AND WILL NOT RETURN A GOOD DAY'S WORK FOR A GOOD DAY'S PAY. HENCE HE MAY TREAT THE NEGRO DIFFERENTLY FROM HIS OTHER EMPLOYEES, THEREBY DESTROYING INCENTIVES TO DO HIGH-LEVEL WORK. THE FINAL RESULT THEN IS THAT THE NEGRO DOES APPEAR TO DE LAZY AND WON'T DO GOOD WORK ON THE JOB.

SCHNEIDER:

THERE IS NO REASON TO SUPPOSE THAT THE INDIAN IS INHERENTLY MURDEROUS, OR THE JEW IS INHERENTLY EXCLUSIVE, OR THE NEGRO INHERENTLY LAZY. THESE TRAITS
WHEN THEY EXIST CAN BE AS MUCH THE PRODUCTS OF THE
PREJUDICED AND DISCRIMINATORY PERSON, AS OF THE INDIAN OR JEW OR NEGRO. INDEED, THE TRAITS ARE THE
PRO-DUCTS OF INTER-ACTION. UNDER DIFFERENT CIRCUMSTANCES WITH DIFFERENT TREATMENT, WITH DIFFERENT
PREMISES IN THE APPROACH MADE TO THEM, INDIAN OR JEW
OR NEGRO MAY SHOW VERY DIFFERENT TRAITS.

RICHTER:

WELL, IF THE SELF-FULFILLING PROPHESY WORKS IN ONE DIRECTION CAN IT ALSO WORK IN THE OPPOSITE DIRECTION WOULD CONFIDENCE IN THE NEGRO EMPLOYED - ON - THE PART OF WHITE EMPLOYER-HELP PROMOTE FAITHFUL AND CONSCIENTIOUS WORK ON THE PART OF THE NEGRO?

SCHNEIDER:

I SHOULD THINK SO. OF COURSE, A SINGLE SO CALLED GOOD-EXPERIENCE MAY NOT BE ENOUGH IN PARTICULAR CASE TO WIPE OUT THE EFFECT OF MANY PAST EXPERIENCES OF A DIFFERENT NATURE. BUT IT IS WORTH NOTING THAT IF TH SELF-FULFILLING PROPHESY PRODUCES SOME GRIM THINGS IN OUR RELATIONS WITH THE NEGRO THE PROCESS ITSELF IS SUCH THAT IT MAY GENERATE QUITE DIFFERENT KINDS OF THINGS...WHICH SOME OF US, AT LEAST, MIGHT LIKE MUCH BETTER. I DON'T THINK THIS NEEDS ANY ELABORATION.

AND THUS WE HAVE TOUCHED ON AT LEAST SOME OF THE IMPORTANT ASPECTS OF THE NATURE OF PREJUDICE. WE NOW HAVE SOME UNDERSTANDING OF THE COMPLEXITIES INVOLVED IN IT. I WOULD LIKE TO THANK MISS LILLIAN SMITH AND MR. ED HOWDEN FOR THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS TO TODAY'S PROGRAM. NEXT WEEK WE WANT TO EXTEND OUR UNDERSTANDING OF PREJUDICE. SO JOIN US THEN, WHEN DR. SCHNEIDER AND I WILL TAKE UP THE QUESTION OF EFFECTS OF PREJUDICE ON...THE LAST CITIZEN, THE NEGRO IN AMERICA.

MUSIC

THEME UP AND UNDER

ANNCR:

YOU HAVE BEEN LISTENING TO DR. LOUIS SCHNEIDER, PROFFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY AT PURDUE UNIVERSITY, AND THE PROGRAM'S PRODUCER-DIRECTOR OF THIS PROGRAM SERIES, E. W. RICHTER AS THEY'VE DISCUSSED "THE LAST CITIZEN". THIS PROGRAM WAS PRODUCED AND RECORDED BY "BAA, PURDUE UNIVERSITY UNDER A GRANT FROM THE EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION AND RADIO CENTER, AND IS BEING DISTRIBUTED BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTERS.

MUSIC

THEME UP TO FINISH

ANNCR:

THIS IS THE NAEB RADIO NETWORK.

THE LAST CITIZEN

PROGRAM #3

SMITH:

A PERSON WHO IS ALWAYS REMINDED THAT HE IS SECOND CLASS...AND OF COURSE HE ISN'T SECOND CLASS...BUT WE IS TOLD THAT HE BELONGS TO A SECOND CLASS GROUP...HE MUST ALWAYS BE PUSHED BACK A BIT...HE MUST ALWAYS STAT THE BACK OF A STREETCAR, OR SIT AT THE BACK OF THBUS, OR GO IN THE SIDE ENTRANCE CALLED COLORED. THAT PERSON IS DEEPLY INJURED PSYCHOLOGICALLY. NOW, THE PERSON WHO DOES THAT TO HIM IS INJURED PSYCHOLOGICALLY, TOO. IT WORKS BOTH WAYS.

MUSIC STINGER

ANNCR:

PREJUDICE EFFECTS BOTH THE NEGRO AND THE WHITE. HOLDOS IT DO THIS? LISTEN AS WE EXPLORE THE EFFECTS C PREJUDICE IN DISCUSSING "THE LAST CITIZEN"

MUSIC STINGER

ANNCR:

THE LAST CITIZEN: THE NEGRO IN AMERICA. A SERIES OF PROGRAMS DEVOTED TO EXTENSION OF OUR KNOWLEDGE OF THE LARGEST MINORITY GROUP IN THE UNITED STATES, ITS PROLEMS, AND THE PROBLEMS IT POSES TO ALL AMERICANS. THE LAST CITIZEN IS PRODUCED BY RADIO STATION WBA, PURE UNIVERSITY, UNDER A GRANT FROM THE EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION AND RADIO CENTER, IN COOPERATION WITH THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTERS. THE DISCUSSANTS ARE THE PRODUCER OF THE SERIES, E.W. RICHTER, AND DR. LOUIS SCHNEIDER, PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY AT PURDUE UNIVERSITY. TODAY'S PROGRAM: "IT NOT BOTH WAYS" HERE NOW, IS MR. RICHTER.

RICHTER:

DURING THE COURSE OF OUR PROGRAM LAST WEEK WE EXPLOR THE NATURE OF PREJUDICE AS WELL AS THE NATURE OF PECPLE WHO ARE PREJUDICED. BUT AN IMPORTANT QUESTION WI WHICH WE DIDNOT DEAL IS W BIT DOES PREJUDICE DO TO PEOPLE? WHAT HAPPENS TO THE PERSON AGAINST WHOM PREJUDICE IS DIRECTED? IN THIS INSTANCE, THE NEGRO. AND WHAT DOES IT DO TO THE PERSON WHO HOLDS PREJUDICE OPINIONS?

SCHNEIDER:

LET ME SAY, WALT, THAT I THINK IT WILL BE A GOOD IDE IN THIS PROGRAM TO HAVE IT UNDERSTOOD THAT WE ARE USING THE TERM PREJUDICE IN A VERY WIDE SENSE INDEED. LAST WEEK IT WAS IMPORTANT FOR US TO DISTINGUISH PREJUDICE FROM DISCRIMINATION. AND WE MIGHT EVEN FURTHED DISTINGUISH SEGREGATION AS A PARTICULAR FORM OF DISCRIMINATORY, BEHAVIOR. BUT WHEN WE ARRESSEKTING OF OR SERVICE OF THE WHEN WE WARRESSEKTING OF OR SERVICE OF THE WHEN WE WARRESSEKTING OF THE WEST OF

THIS WEEK IS A BROAD UNDERTANDING OF ALL THESE FORM
-- PREJUDICE, DISCRIMINATION AND SEGREGATION IN THE
EFFECTS ON THE PERSONALITY, NEGRO OR WHITE, ESSEN

RICHTER:

TO HELP US WITH OUR PROGRAM TODAY WE HAVE PORTIONS OF RECORDED CONVERSATIONS WITH JACKIE ROBINSON, BUS INESSMAN AND BASEBALL GREAT; DR. KENNETH CLARK, EDUCATOR AND PROFESSOR OF PSYCHOLOGY; MR. E. FREDERICK MORROW, ASSISTANT TO PRESIDENT EISENHOMER, MISS LILLIAN SMITH, AND MISS PAULI MURRAY, LAWYER AND AUTHOR. IN OUR CHAT WITH MISS MURRAY, SHE GAVE US WHAMIGHT WELL BE USED AS AN INTRODUCTION TO TODAY'S PROGRAM DEALING WITH THE EFFECTS OF PREJUDICE ATTITUDES.

MURRAY:

BY AND, LARGE, I WOULD SAY THAT SOME OF THE NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES OF THESE ATTITUDES ON THE PART OF THE LARGER COMMUNITY ARE THAT THE SELF-IMAGE WHICH THE NEGRO HAS IS CONSTANTLY SOMETHING WHICH HE MUST OVE COME IN HIMSELR. THE CONTINUAL POUNDING AWAY FROM LET US SAY, SEGREGATIONISTS, PEOPLE WHO ARE FULL OF BIGOTRY AND PREJUDICE, ON THE THEME THAT THE NEGRO INFERIOR ... THAT HE HAS NOT YET DEVELOPED TO THE POINT WHERE HE SHOULD, AS A MATTER OF RIGHT RECEIVE ALL O THE OPPORTUNITIES WHICH OTHER PEOPLE DO... HAS MEANT THAT THE NEGRO HAS CONSTANTLY HAD TO OVERCOME THIS FEELING OF INFERIORITY. SOMETIMES HE HIMSELF IS AL MOST APT TO BELIEVE IT. THIS HAS CREATED CERTAIN UNDESIREABLE ATTITUDES WITHIN THE NEGRO COMMUNITY SELF. SOMETIMES BASED UPON COLOR... THE BELIEF THAT THE MORE ONE APPROACHES IN PHYSICAL ASPECTS THE CA CASIAN GROUP, THE MORE FAVORED ONE IS...OR THE MORL SUPERIOR ONE IS. AND SO THERE HAVE BEEN ACTUALLY DISADVANTAGES WITHIN THE NEGRO GROUP ITSELF, BASED UPON GRADATIONS OF COLOR. NOW | DON'T THINK THIS I ANY MORE THAN A SECONDARY REACTION TO THE TOTAL COM UNITY'S JUDGEMENT AND EVALUATION OF THE NEGRO. BUT NEVERTHELESS, THIS HAS BEEN ONE OF THE REACTIONS, HAS, I THINK, CREATED A GREAT DEAL OF DISADVANTAGE WITHIN THE GROUP ITSELF.

SCHNEIDER:

MISS MURRAY SHARPENS OUR AWARENESS OF THIS VERY SICONCEPT OF SELF-IMAGE. IT'S A COMMON PLACE OF SOCIPSYCHOLOGISTS THAT SELF-IMAGES...GROUNDED THE WAY WHICH PEOPLE VIEW THEMSELVES...ARE PROFOUNDLY INFLENCED BY THE ATTITUDES THAT OTHERS HAVE TWARDS THE ASMISS MURRAY HAS POINTED OUT, IN GENERAL IT IS CENTAINLY DIFFICULT TO MAINTAIN A FLATTERING IMAGE OF ONESELF WHEN THERE IS CONSTANT AND INSISTENT PRESS FROM OTHERS WHICH ENFORCES A DEFINITELY UNFAVORABL

VIEW OF ONESELF.

RICHTER:

AND THE FORMATION OF A SELF-IMAGE BEGINS IN EARLIEST CHILDHOOD. DR. KENNETH CLARK, A NOTED PSYCHOLOGIST, AND HIS WIFE, HAVE DONE RESEARCH ON THIS QUESTION IN REGARD TO THE NEGRO CHILD. WHEN WE VISITED HIM IN HI HARLEM OFFICE DR. CLARK DESCRIBED HIS FINDINGS FOR US

CLARK:

THE NEGRO CHILD, VERY EARLY IN HIS LIFE, I WOULD SAY AROUND THE AGE OF 5 OR 6, THE NEGRO CHILD OF NORMAL INTELLIGENCE, LEARNS NOT ONLY THAT HE IS DIFFERENT FROM THE PREDOMINANT SOCIETY IN TERMS OF SKIN COLOR . BUT HE ALSO LEARNS THAT THE LARGER SOCIETY EVALUATES HIS SKIN COLOR NEGATIVELY. THAT BECAUSE OF HIS DIFF-ERENCE IN SKIN COLOR HE IS SEEN AS INFERIOR. HE LEAF THAT HE IS GENERALLY RELEGATED TO AN INFERIOR STATUS ... THAT HE IS REJECTED BY THE LARGER SOCIETY. AT THIS AGE THE CHILD SEEMS TO BE CONFUSED ABOUT THIS PATTERN IN THE LARGER SOCIETY OF REJECTING HIM IN TER OF HIS OWN SKIN COLOR, AND HE TENDS TO ADOPT THE VALUE OF THE LARGER SOCIETY, THAT IS, HE TENDS TO REJECT HIMSELF. IT IS NOT UNCOMMON...INFACT, I WOULD SAY, THE BASIS OF OUR RESEARCH, OVER TWO THIRDS...OR TWO THIRDS, OR APPROXIMATELY TWO THIRDS OF NEGRO CHILDRE! AT THE AGE OF 5,6, AND 7 HAVE CLEAR, DEMONSTRABLE FEE. INGS OF INFERIORITY ABOUT THEIR STATUS AS NEGROES. THEY FEEL INFERIOR AND THEY BELIEVE THEMSELVES TO BE INFERIOR. THEY REJECT THEMSELVES THEY CONSIDER THEM-SELVES...DIRTY, OR...INADEQUATE. THEY WONDER, THEY RECOGNIZE THAT THE LARGER SOCIETY DOES NOT GRANT THE THE SAME RESPECT WHICH IS GRANTED TO WHITE CHILDREN I WOULD SAY THAT WE HAVE ACCUMULATED A GREAT DEAL OF EVIDENCE THAT ... POINTS CONCLUSIVELY TO THE FACT THAT NEGRO CHILDREN, GROWING UP IN OUR SOCIETY, WHICH MAK PERFECTLY CLEAR THAT THEY ARE SECOND CLASS CITIZENS. THAT THEY ARE NOT GIVEN THE RESPECT THAT OTHER CHILD REN ARE...UH, THEY HAVE TERRIBLE PROBLEMS IN SELF-ESTEEM, FOR THE MOST PART.

RICHTER:

THUS DR. CLARK GIVES US AN IDEA OF THE DILEMMAS AND PROBLEMS THE NEGRO CHILD FACES IN EVALUATING HIMSELF ...IN BUILDING HIS SELF-IMAGE.

SCHNEIDER:

THERE HAVE BEEN CERTAIN TECHNICAL CRITICISMS OF THE INVESTIGATIVE PHASES OF DR. CLARK'S WORK. BUT IN TH STATEMENTS FROM HIM WHICH WE HEARD, HE PUTS FORTH VIEWS THAT SEEM TO BE GENERALLY COMPATIBLE WITH SUCH INFORMATION AS WE HAVE. THEY WOULD SEEM, AT LEAST, HIGHLY PLAUSIBLE IN THE LIGHT OF MUCH CONTEMPORARY PSYCHOLOGICAL THOUGHT.

IN A CONVERSATION WITH JACKIE ROBINSON THIS PROBLEM OF SELF-IMAGE WAS TAKEN OUT OF THE CLINIC OR LABORATORY, AND WE LEARNED HOW ONE YOUNGSTER HAD TO FACE THIS NEGATIVE EVALUATION, AND HOW HIS PARENTS COPED WITH THE PROBLEM.

ROBINSON:

THINK THE THING THAT AWAKENED ME MORE THAN ANY-THING WAS WHEN WE FIRST MOVED UP TO STANFORD, CONN-ECTICUT. THERE WASN'T ANYTHING VICIOUS ABOUT THIS INCIDENT, BUT MY LITTLE BOY, MY YOUNGEST ONE, CAME HOME ONE DAY FROM SCHOOL, AND HE SEEMED EXTRAORDIN-ARILY QUIET, AND SOMETHING HAPPENED AT SCHOOL WHERE SOMEBODY HAD KIDDED HIM ABOUT THE COLORING OF HIS SKIN... CALLED HIM DIRTY, OR SOMETHING, AND HE WAS DEEPLY HURT BY IT. AND WHEN WE FOUND OUT WHAT IT WAS, IT CERTAINLY MADE US THINK, AND WE STOPPED AND TALKED TO HIM AND EXPLAINED THAT IF HE LOOKED AT ? THE COLORING OF HIS MOTHER AND HIS FATHER, AND IF HAD THE SAME KIND OF PRIDE THAT WE HAVE IN THE FACT THAT WE ARE MADE AS WE ARE...THAT GOD HAD GIVEN US THIS SKIN BECAUSE THIS WAS WHAT HE WANTED US TO HAY THEN HE SHOULDN'T FEEL BADLY ABOUT IT, AND REGARD-LESS OF WHAT PEOPLE SAY OR DO, FOR HIM NOT TO EVER WORRY ABOUT IT BECAUSE NAMES CANNOT HURT HIM. AND HE HAD SIMILAR EXPERIENCES LATER ON, AND HE HAS REALLY COME THROUGH FINE WITH FLYING COLORS.

SCHNEIDER:

IN HIS STORY, MR. ROBINSON SUGGESTS TO US THE POSSI-BILITY OF A CONFLICT IN SELF-IMAGES. THE BOY WAS GIVEN ONE IMAGE AT SCHOOL AND ABOTHER BY HIS PARENT THIS CONFLICTIS ACTUALLY MORE THAN A POSSIBILITY. IT REPRESENTS SOMETHING VERY REAL. LET'S TAKE A CLOSE LOOK AT CONFLICT IN SELF-IMAGES, AND NOTE WE . IT DOES TO THE INDIVIDUAL. WE MIGHT BEGIN BY ASSU ING A SOCIETY IN WHICH THE FACT OF COLOR DIFFERENCE WAS ABSOLUTELY MEANINGLESS TO PEOPLE. AND IN WHIC THEREFORE, YOUNG ROBINSONS WOULD NEVER BE TOLD AT SCHOOL THAT THEY WERE DIRTY BECAUSE THEY WERE COL-ORED. IN SUCH A CASE THE SELF-IMAGE OF THE NEGRO CHILD WOULD NOT DEFFER, BECAUSE HE WAS NEGRO! FROM THAT OF A WHITE CHILD. THIS IS A SITUATION WHICH, TO PUT IT CONSERVATIVELY, WE HAVE HARDLY REACHED.
JE MIGHT ALSO CONCEIVE A VERY DIFFERENT SITUATION IN WHICH ALL WHITE JUDGEMENTS OF ALL NEGROES WERE DISTINCTLY UNFAVORABLE. INEVITABLY, NEGROES WOULD INCORPORATE MUCH OF THE UNFAVORABLY TINGED ATTITUD TOWARD THEMSELVES OF THE WHITES. IF THERE WERE, I THIS CASE, ANY FAVORABLE ELEMENTS IN THE SELF-IMAC OF THE NEGRO THEY WOULD SOMEHOW HAVE TO SE GENERAT ED WITHIN THE NEGRO GROUP ITSELF, WITH OUT ANY AID FROM WHITES.

AND SINCE NEITHER OF THESE SITUATIONS EXISTS THE NEGRO IS THEN GIVEN A MUCH MORE COMPLEX, EVEN A CONFUSING IMAGE OF HIMSELF.

SCHNEIDER:

YOU ARE QUITE RIGHT. | DESCRIBED THESE TWO HYPO-THETICAL SITUATIONS MERELY IN ORDER THAT WE MIGHT AAPPREHEND MORE CLEARLY JUST WHAT THE ACTUAL SITU-ATION IS. THERE IS A STREAM OF CRITICISM FROM MEM-BERS OF THE LARGER WHITE SOCIETY. THIS IS BOUND T INFLUENCE THE NEGRO AND TO MAKE THE CONTENT OF HIS SELF-IMAGE UNFLATTERING TO HIMSELF. AND WE REMEM-BER ALSO THAT IT IS CRITICISM ON MANY FRONTS ... CRITICISM THAT COMES TO THE NEGRO IN MANY WAYS. SOME OF IT COMES BY WAY OF VERBAL MATTER. THE NEGRO LEARNS THAT HE IS DIRTY ... CONSIDERED DIRTY, INADEQUATE, LOW, ANIMAL-LIKE...GENERALLY INFERIOR. BUT THE CRITICISM IS MORE THAN VERBAL. IT IS, ONE MIGHT SAY BUILT INTO THE PHYSICAL STRUCTURES OF SO -IETY. THE DIFFERENTIATION OF LAVATORIES FOR WHITE AND NEGROES IS MORE THAN, OR BEYOND, A VERBAL CRI-TICISM. IT IS A "RIGGING" OF THE ENVIRONMENT IN S SUCH FASHION THAT EVENWHEN THERE IS NO WHITE MAN AROUND TO REMIND THE NEGRO THAT HE ISN'T SUPPOSED TO BE UP TO SNUFF, THE ENVIRONMENT ITSELF WILL RE-MIND HIM. THIS GIVES US BUT THE BAREST NOTION OF THEMANIFOLDNESS OF THE THINGS THAT CONSTRAIN THE NEGRO TOWARD HAVING AN UNFLATTERING VIEW OF HIMSEL BUT IT IS ALSO TRUE THAT THE WHITES DO NOT REPRE-SENT A UNITED FRONT. SOME OF THEM INSIST THAT THE NEGRO IS AS GOOD AS THE WHITE MAN. AND THIS IS BOUND TO INFLUENCE THE NEGROES SELF-JUDGEMENTS. WE MAY RECALL THE AMERICAN CREED TO WHICH WE REFERRED IN THE LAST PROGRAM. THAT CREED WHICH IS BASED UPON EQUALITY UNDER THE LAW, OPPORTUNITY, ... JUSTICE, DEMOCRACY....THE PERVASIVE VALUATIONS IN THE CREED CERTAINLY WOULD NOT UPHOLD THE NOTION OF THE INTRINSIC INFERIORITY OR LESSER WORTH OF MINOR ITY GROUPS. WHAT KIND OF PSYCHOLOGICAL PICTURE DO WE GET THEN?

RICHTER:

AS I SAID, I BELIEVE THE NEGRO MUST HAVE A COMPLE-IMAGE OF HIMSELF.

SCHNEIDER:

THE WORD "COMPLEX CERTAINLY SEEMS JUSTIFIED TO M"
UNDOUBTEDLY MANY NEGROES ARE INVOLVED IN HARD INN
STRUGGLES CENTERING ON THIS MATTER OF A SELF-IMAG.
SOME SEEM TO COME OUT PRETTY WELL AND HAVE A SOLI
SENSE OF INNER WORTH. OTHERS SEEM TO COME OFF LE
WELL. IT MAY EVEN BE THAT THIS KIND OF COMPLEXIT

HELPS TO GENERATE SOME OF THE DISTINCTIVE NEGRO CULTURAL CONTRIBUTIONS, FORCED TO STRUGGLE WITH THIS PROBLEM OF SELF-IMAGE, MANT A NEGRO MAY PUSH HIMSEL TO ACHIEVEMENTS DESIGNED TO PROVE ONCE AND FOR ALL HIS ULTIMATE WORTH. ON THE OTHER HAND, I CAN READILY CONCEIVE THAT IN MANY OTHER CASES THE OUTCOME WOULD NOT BE ONE FAVORABLE TO ACHIEVEMENT...ARTIST SCIENTIFIC, AND THE LIKE. THE TROUBLESOMENESS OF STABILIZING THE SELF-IMAGE, I SHOULD CERTAINLY THIS MIGHT LAY DOWN PSYCHOLOGICAL DISPOSITIONS TO THINGE LIKE DELINQUIENT OR CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR. TORTURE, I SUPPOSE, MAY LEAD TO CREATIVITY. BUT IT MAY ALSO LEAD TO WHAT OUR SOCIETY MUST REGARD AS CULPABLY DEVIANT, EVEN CRIMINAL, BEHAVIOR.

RICHTER:

DR. CLARK, TOO, HAS SOME WORDS ON THIS SUBJECT, HE CONTINUES TALKING ABOUT NEGRO CHILDREN.

CLARK:

AS THEY GET OLDER SOME OF THEM MAY DEVELOP PROTECT DEVICES AGAINST THIS ASSAULT ON THEIR PERSONALITY. SOME OF THEM, PARTICULARLY WORKING CLASS OR LOWER CLASS NEGRO CHILDREN, RESENT THIS SO DEEPLY THAT THEY DECOME AGRESSIVE, ANTAGONISTIC, HOSTILE, TOWA THEMSELVES, TOWARD OTHER NEGROES, AND TOWARD MEMBE OF THE DOMINANT GROUP. THESE CHILDREN WILL SOMET! ACT OUT THEIR HOSTILITY IN THE FORM OF ANTI-SOCIAL AGRESSIVE BEHAVIOR WHICH THE LARGER SOCIETY CALLS DELINQUENT. THIS IS A KIND OF SELF-DESTRUCTIVE WA OF REACTING TO THE BASIC PROBLEM IN SELF ESTEEM, BUT I THINK AS LONG AS THE INJUSTICE PERSISTS, SOC ETY WILL HAVE TO PAY THIS COST IN TERMS OF HUMAN B. BEINGS REACTING TO THIS INJUSTICE IN ANTI-SOCIAL FORMS. MIDDLE CLASS NEGRO CHILDREN ARE NOT AS PRONT TO ACT OUT THEIR BASIC FEELINGS OF INFERIORITY IN THIS DIRECT, AGRESSIVE WAY. MANY TIMES THEY SORT TURN THEIR AGRESSION INWARD, AND BECOME DISTURBED ABOUT THEMSELVES, AND RATHER PUNITIVE TOWARD THEM-SELVES, AND RATHER PUNITIVE TOWARD THEMSELVES. THEY FEEL THAT THEIR PROBLEMS ARE INEVITABLE BECAU THEY ARE NEGROES. THEY SOMETIMES BLAME LOWER CLASS NEGROES FOR THEIR DIFFICULTIES. UH, SOMETIMES, UH NEGROES ARE ABL TO DEAL WITH THIS BASIC PROBLEM O SELF-ESTEEM BY WHAT THE PSYCHOLOGISTS CALL COMPEN-SATORY ACTIVITY. THAT IS, THEY ENGAGE IN A PATTERN OF OUTSTANDING ACHIEVEMENT. THEY INSIST UPON BEIN EXCELLENT OR VERY GOOD. UH, THIS IS PARTICULARLY TRUE, I THINK, OF CHILDREN WHO ARE FORTUNATE ENOUGH TO HAVE PARENTS WHO GIVE THEM GUIDANCE THAT MIDDLE CLASS PARENTS ARE EXPECTED TO GIVE ... TO MAKE THEM REALIZE THE IMPORTANCE OF EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVE-MENT UH. WHO VERY EARLY IN THE LIFE OF

THE CHILD THE PARENTS MAY TELL THEM THAT THE ONLY WAY TO OVERCOME THE HANDICAPS OF BEING NEGRO IS BY EXCELLING IN CERTAIN ACTIVITIES, PARTICULARLY ACADMIC ACTIVITIES. THESE CHILDREN ARE, IN A SENSE, REQUIRED TO WALKING STEREOTYPES... I MEAN WALKING REFUTATIONS OF THE STEREOTYPES. THEY ARE REQUIRED TO EXCEPTIONALLY CLEAN... EXCEPTIONALLY HONEST, EXCEPTIONALLY BRIGHT... BECAUSE THEIR PARENTS, I PRESUME WITH SOME JUSTIFICATION, BELIEVE THAT THIS IS THE ONLY WAY THAT THEY CAN FIGHT AGAINST THE PRESSUE OF INFERIOR RACIAL STATUS WITHOUT BEING SELF-DESTRUETIVE. I THINK THIS MAY HAVE MADE TO VARIOUS ASPECTS OF AMERICAN LIFE.

SCHNELDER:

I THINK DR. CLARK EXEMPLIFIES EVERY WELL WHAT CAN HAPPEN IN VARIOUS TYPES OF PERSONALITY BECAUSE OF THIS CONFLICT OF SELF-IMAGES OF WHICH WE HAVE BEEN DISCUSSING.

RICHTER:

IN CONNECTION WITH WHAT WE HAVE BEEN SPEAKING ABOUT.
LOU...I'VE BEEN CONSTANTLY IMPRESSED WITH THE FEELING OF RESPONSIBILITY TOWARD THE GROUP ON THE PART
OF THOSE NEGROES WHO HAVE ACHIEVED-BROKEN FREE-IN
SENSE - FROM THE LIMITATIONS IMPOSED ON THE GROUP.
THIS WAS BROUGHT OUT RATHER ELOQUENTLY BY DR. E.
FREDERICK MORROW, ASSISTANT TO PRESIDENT EISENHOWER.
PERHAPS HIS COMMENTS WILL GIVE US ANOTHER CLUE TO
THE MATTER OF SELF-IMAGE.

MORROV:

WELL, A JACKIE ROBINSON OR RALPH BUNCHE, OR ANY PERSONS WHO HAVE BEEN FORTUNATE ENOUGH TO RISE TO STATURE ... TO RISE TO POSITIONS OF PROMINENCE IN THE COUNTRY, THERE IS ALWAYS THIS BURDEN OF 17 MILLION OTHER PEOPEL WHOM YOU CARRY ALONG BECAUSE OF RACE PRIDE AND BECAUSE OFTREMENDOUS INTEREST IN HAVING YOUR RACE DEVELOP AND BECOMING RECOGNIZED IN THE HUMAN FAMILY. THIS IS SOMETHING THAT MOST OF US ARE TAUGHT AT OUR PARENTS' KNEE ... THAT IF YOU SUCCEED THAT IS NOT ENOUGH ... YOU MUST REACH DOWN AND HELP OTHERS RISE, TOO, BECAUSE ONLY WHEN MANY OF US HAVE BEEN ABLE TO ACHIEVE THE TOP AT WILL WE BE ABLE TO LOOK BACK WITH ANY DEGREE OF PRIDE, OR WILL WE BE RECOGNIZED IN THE HUMAN FAMILY AS A GROUP OF PEOPLE WHO HAVE ACHIEVED AND WHO HAVE ARRIVED. THIS IS SOME THING THAT IS WITH US EVERY WAKING MOMENT OF THE DAY AND IT KILLS A GREAT MANY OF US BECAUSE IT IS A TREMENDOUS RESPONSIBILITY. AND EVERY MOVE WE MAKE EVERYTHING WE DO. EVERY ACTION WE TAKE, WE MUST RE-MEMBER THAT THIS IS GOING TO AFFECT THE DESTINY AND THE FUTURE OF 17 MILLION OTHER PEOPLE.

RICHTER: Do you find this at all a limitation upon your ability to just be a person ?

MORROW:

UH, THAT'S A PRETTY GOOD QUESTION. MAYBE IT PREVENTS US FROM RELAXING AS MUCH AS WE WOULD LIKE TO RELAX. THERE'S ALWAYS A SORT OF A TENSEN SS...THERE'S ALWAYS A DEMANDING NECESSITY OF DOING ONE'S BEST AT EVERY TIME NO MATTER HOW SIMPLE THE OCCASION OR HOW SIMPLE THE OPERATION, BECAUSE WHAT YOU DO MAY DETERMINE WHAT HAPPENAPPENS TO SOMEONE ELSE, SO, IT'S A PRETTY TENSE LIFE. THAT ONE LIVES WHO HAS HAD THE GOOD FORTUNE OR THE MISFORTUNE UH, TO ACHIEVE A LITTLE BEYOND THE ORDINARY.

SCHNEIDER:

I THINK THAT WE CAN SAY THEN THAT THE WHITE MAN WHO EXCELS, ACHIEVES, REACHES A DISTINGUISHED POSITION OR THE LIKE, MAY WELL HELP HIS SELF-IMAGE BY HIS ACHIEVEMENTS - AND THAT IS THE END OF THE MATTER. NOT SO FOR MR. MORROW. HE IS CONSTRAINED. HE IS CONSTRAINED TO INCLUDE IN HIS SELF-IMAGE THE PICTURE OF A PERSON WHO, HAVING ATTAINED SOMETHING, MUST FURTHER IDENTIFY HIMSELF AS A REPRESENTATIVE OF A DISADVANTAGE GROUP, WHICH HE CANNOT "LET DOWN" OR MUST SOMEHOW CONTINUE TO AID. ALL THIS REPRESENTS A TENSION, IN CONNECTION WITH SELF-IMAGE, THAT IS PECULIARLY ATTACHED THE BEING A NEGRO IN PRESENT DAY AMERICA.

RICHTER:

AND MR. MORROW IS NOT AN ISOLATED INDIVIDUAL... FOUND HIS SENTIMENTS ECHOED AMONG THE GREAT MAJORITY OF NEGROES PROMINENT IN PUBLIC AND ACADEMIC LIFE. AND I THINK, LOU, THAT WE MIGHT EVEN CONSIDER THIS AS BEING AN INDIRECT POSITIVE RESULT OF DISCRIMINATION AND PREJUDICE AND SEGREGATION. FOR IT IS THESE THINGS WHICH MOTIVATE ALMOST FORCE THE CAPABLE NEGRO TO BECOME A LEADER...TO WORK ACTIVELY FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE NEGRO. THUS, PREJUDICE HELPS TO SOW THE SEEDS OF ITS OWN DESTRUCTION.

SCHNEIDER:

I DON'T THINK I'D QUARREL WITH YOU. BUT DO WE NOT WHAVE A RATHER PARADOXICAL AND TRAGIC SITUATION HERE?
IT SEEMS TRUE ENOUGH THAT PREJUDICE, DISCRIMINATION AND SEGREGATION AROUSE OPPOSITION AMONG NEGROES AND STIMULATE LEADERSHIP TO GET RID OF THESE VERY THINGS. BUT WEGTHESE THINGS HADN'T EXISTED IN THE FIRST PLACE THERE WOULDHAVE BEEN NO STIMULATION OF THE KIND YOU REFER TO. ONE CAN'T HELP FEELING, THAT THERE IS HERE AN UNHAPPY WARTE OF ENERGY.

RICHTER:

We've looked at a few of the more important aspects of the Negroes psychological problems which are generated by prejudice, discrimination and segregation. But what of the prejudiced person — does he go scot free in this situation? I'm reminded of the oft—

QUOTED STATEMENT OF BOOKER T. WASHINGTON "THAT YOU CAN'T HOLD A MAN DOWN IN THE GUTTER WITHOUT GETTING DOWN THERE YOURSELF." DOESN'T THIS IMPLY A PSYCHOLOGICAL DAMAGE TO THE WHITE MAN?

SCHNEIDER:

LET'S RETURN AGAIN FOR A MOMENT TO THE ÂMERICAN CREED. I THINK WE'VE SEEN THAT THIS CREED HAS SOME POWER IN ÂMERICAN LIFE AND IN THE MORAL OUTLOOK OF AMERICANS. INSOFAR AS THIS IS THE CASE THEY ARE BOUND TO FEEL GUILT FOR PREJUDICE, DISCRIMINATORY BEHAVIOR, AND SEGREGATIVE ACTION. THE SUBJECT OF GUILT ON THE PART OF THE WHITE MAN, THE GUILT THAT ARISES IN HIM IN CONNECTION WITH TREATMENT OF THE NEGRO IS A LARGE ONE AND I WONDER WHETHER IT MIGHT NOT BE A GOOD IDEA TO HAVE A LOOK AT HOW THIS GUILT FUNCTIONS IN A SPECIFIC AREA.

RICHTER:

In our chat with Lillian Smith she brought up this matter of guilt, Lou, relating it to sex, and even love, between white men of the South and Negro wome of the South.

SMITH:

AND AS WE KNOW HISTORICALLY, THIS EXISTED. AND EX-ISTED AMONG LARGE NUMBERS OF OUR PEOPLE. AND THAT WAS A RELATIONSHIP OF DISESTEEM, TOO, YOU SEE, AND ALSO A RELATIONSHIP OF GUILT. GUILT. .. WE HUMAN BE! BEINGS ... THINK IT'S WONDERFUL THAT WE CAN FEEL GUILT ... BUT A GUILT THAT WE DON'T UNDERSTAND, AND ... GUILT THAT IS SUPPRESSED IN US, DOES US GREAT PSY-CHOLOGICAL HARM. VHEN WE CAN BRING IT OUT AND SAY "YES, I SHOULD FEEL GUILTY ABOUT THIS THING THAT I'VE DONE BECAUSE THIS THING IS WRONG". WELL. NOW. THAT KIND OF GUILT CAN WELP US GROW. BUT THE KIND OF GUILT THAT IS VAGUE ... AND WE CAN FIND NO NAME FO AND WE FIND, INSTEAD, CURIOUS RATIONALIZATIONS FOR ... THAT KIND OF GUILT CAN HURT US MORALLY, AND PSY-CHOLOGICALLY. WE WON'T QUITE ADMIT THAT THESE THIN HAPPEN. AND SO INSTEAD WE BUILD UP ANXIETY AND GUILT FEELINGS, AND A DESIRE NOT TO THINK ABOUT IT CLEARLY. AND SO I FEEL THAT THE MIND OF THE SOUTH HAS BEEN INJURED BY SEGREGATION, BECAUSE OF ALL THE DICHOTOMIES AND AMBIVALENCES AND AMBIGUITIES THAT HAVE BEEN CREATED BY THE ATTITUDES AND BUILT UP BY OUR ACTIONS. SO I FEEL THAT WE REALLY HAVE BEEN HURT BY IT.

SCHNEIDER:

I AM REMINDED OF MYRDAL[†]S VIEWS OF THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SEXUAL RELATIONS BETWEEN WHITE MEN AND NEGRO WOMEN. THESE GIVE ONLY ONE EXAMPLE OF HOW GUILT FEELINGS CAN BE BUILT UP IN THE RELATIONS OF WHITE AND NEGROES, BUT A RATHER DRAMATIC ONE. LET ME SAY THAT I DON'T CLAIM THAT THESE VIEWS REPRESENT ABSO-LUTE TRUTH - BUT ON THE OTHER HAND, THEY DO MAKE A GOOD DEAL OF SENSE OUT OF VARIOUS STRIKING THINGS THAT HAVE APPEARED IN THE COMPLEX RELATIONSHIPS OF WHITE MEN, NEGRO WOMEN, AND WHITE WOMEN. I SHOULD ALSO MENTION THAT THE VIEWS WERE NOT ENTIRELY NEW WITH MYRDAL, BUT WERE AT LEAST PARTLY SUGGESTED TO HIM BY A SOUTHERNER, W. F. CASH, BY WAY OF CASH'S BOOK ON THE MIND OF THE SOUTH. MYRDAL CONTENDS THE GUILT FEELINGS RESULT FOR THE SOUTHERN WHITE MAN FROM HIS TREATMENT OF NEGRO WOMEN. AND FURTHER, THAT THESE GUILT FEELINGS LIE BEHIND CERTAIN OF THE ATTITUDES TOWARD WHITE WOMEN FOUND AMONG SOUTHERN WHITE MEN. LET ME TRY TO CLARIFY THE MATTER. VHIT WOMEN WERE CERTAINLY OFTEN AWARE OF THEIR MEN'S SEA-UAL ADVENTURES WITH NEGRO WOMEN AND WERE DISTURBED BY THEM. (YOU NOTE, BY THE WAY, I USE THE PAST TENSE - THIS WHOLE INTERPRETATION OF MYRDAL'S, I BELIEVE, HAD STRONGER FORCE SOME YEARS AGO THAN IT WOULD TODAY, ALTHOUGH IT'S STILL PERTINENT ENOUGH REFER TO NOW.) THE WHITE MEN. FOR THEIR PART. FELT GUILTY BECAUSE OF THESE ADVENTURES. AFTER ALL, THE WERE THE INHERITORS OF A CULTURE THAT STRESSED THE AMERICAN CREED, THAT CONTAINED PURITANICAL ELEMENTS THAT DID NOT ALLOW OF EASY AND UNDISTURBED ADULTER OR FORNICATION. IT IS, THEREFORE, UNDERSTANDABLE THAT THEY FELT GUILTY. AND FEELING GUILTY THEY SO SOUGHT TO ABSOLVE THEMSELVES OF GUILT. TO EXPLAIN OR MAKE CLEAR TO THEMSELVES "HY THEY HAD BEEN SUCH SINNERS THEY SOMETIMES INVOKED THE IRRESISTABLE AN-IMALITY OF THE NEGRO WOMAN. ALSO, THEY GLORIFIED THE VIRTUES OF THEIR OWN WHITE WOMEN. FEELING THAT THEY WERE THEREBY COMPENSATING THEM FOR THE WRONG THAT THEY HAD DONE THEM, THE HURT THAT THEY HAD IN-FLICTED UPON THEM BY THESE "SINFUL" RELATIONS WITH NEGRO WOMEN. AT LEAST ONE WAY TO RESPONG TO THE FEELING THAT ONE HAD BEEN VERY WICKED AND HURT THE WHITE WOMAN WAS TO SAY TO HER, "DARLING YOU'RE SO VERY WONDERFUL", AND TO AFFIRM HER WONDERFULNESS WITH A GLARE IN THE EYE AS IF TO DEFY ANYONE TO DE PERHAPS THE UNQUIET CONSCIENCE COULD BE EASED BY PUTTING THE SOUTHERN WHITE WOMEN ON A PEDESTAL AND ASSERTING THAT SHE WAS THE MOST MARVELOUS WOMA: THAT EVER WAS. AND THIS MUST NOT BE CHALLENGED LET THE SOUTHERNER FEEL THAT HE HAD NOT GIVEN ADEQUATE COMPENSATION TO HIS OWN WHITE WOMEN FOR THE TERRIBL THINGS THAT HE HAD DONE ... FOR SUCH HE FELT THEM TO BE, HE BEING THE RELATIVELY NICE, DECENT, RESPECT-ABLE FELLOW THAT HE WAS..

IN THIS SITUATION IT SEEMS THAT EVERYBODY GETS CHEED PSYCHOLOGICALLY—THE NEGRO WOMAN FINDS HERSELF DEGRADED...TREMENDOUSLY DEGRADED IN ORDER TO EXPLAITHE WHITE MAN'S SUCCUMBING TO HER. THE WHITE WOMAN IS FANTASTICALLY IDOLIZED TO THE POINT WHERE SHE MAY FIND IT DIFFICULT TO BEHAVE LIKE AN ORDINARY HUMAN BEING — WHO COULD POSSIBLE LIVE UP TO A PICTURE OF SUCH VIRTUE? AND THE WHITE MAN CHEATS HIMSELF IN TURN BY BUILDING A COMPLETELY FALSE PICTURE OF BOTH WOMEN — THE NEGRO AND THE WHITE. AND THIS WOULD SEEM TO BEAR OUT WHAT MISS SMITH SAYS ABOUT THE KIND OF "GUILT THAT IS VAGUE, FOR WHICH NO NAME CAN BE FOUND, AND WHICHCURIOUS RATIONALIZATIONS ARE

SCHNEIDER:

MOREOVER, WE SHOULD NOT FORGET THAT THERE IS ALSO INVOLVED WITH ALL THIS A CERTAIN FEAR OF RETALI-ATION...A FEAR THAT THE NEGRO WILL "GET BACK" AT THE WHITE MAN FOR WHAT THE LATTER HAD DONE TO HIS ...THE NEGRO'S WOMAN.

RICHTER:

HARRY GOLDEN, AUTHOR OF THE BEST SELLING BOOK, "ONLY IN AMERICA" COMMENTED ON THIS VERY POINT WHEN HE ADDRESSED A JEWISH LABOR GROUP IN THE SUMMER OF 1958. PERHAPS WE COULD LET HIM HAVE THE LAST WORD

GOLDEN:

THE WHITE MAN HAS SLEPT WITH NEGRO WOMAN IN THE SOUTH FOR TWO OR THREE HUNDRED YEARS ... AT WILL. FIRST PLACE, SHE WAS UNDER HIS CONTROL. AND HE FEARS RETALIATION, SUBCONSCIOUSLY, THAT'S WHAT HE FEARS. RETALIATION. HE FEARS...WHEN HE LOOKS AT HIS WHITE WOMAN AND HE BEGINS TO ... HE HAS GNAWING DOUBTS ABOUT HER. THIS IS A GREAT TRAGEDY. IT'S A GREAT INSULT TO THE WHITE WOMEN OF THE SOUTH. ! DON'T UNDERSTAND HOW THEY COULD STAND FOR THIS, THEIR WHITE MEN WORRYING ABOUT ... JUST BECAUSE IF PERMIT THE NEGRO TO PARTICIPATE AS A FULL FLEDGE CITIZEN ... WHAT HE'S REALLY SAYING IS THAT HIS WOM. WILL FALL INTO THE NEGRO'S ARMS. WELL, WHY SHOULD THEY? WHY SHOULD THEY? BUT NO ONE SEEMS TO GET THE POINT. NO ONE SEEMS TO BE INSULTED BY THIS THING. IF YOU LET A MAN VOTE, AND GIVE HIM EQUAL JOB OPPORTUNITIES, EQUAL EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES, AUTOMATICALLY YOUR WHITE WOMAN WILL FALL FOR THEM. MHY SHOULD THEY? BUT THIS IS HIS GNAWING FEAR... SEX .. "BIG BUCK NIGGER", HE ALWAYS SAYS, "BIG BUCK NIGGER " . SEX.

THUS WE SEE THAT, REALLY, "IT WORKS BOTH WAYS"...
THAT BOTH THE NEGRO AND THE WHITE ARE THE VICTIMS
OF THE PREJUDICE HELD BY THE WHITES. THE EXAMPLES
OF GUILT AND FEAR WE CITED ARE NOT THE ONLY MANIFESTATIONS OF THE DAMAGE INFLICTED UPON THE PERSON
WHO HOLDS PREJUDICE, ALTHOUGH THEY ARE PERHAPS
AMONG THE MOST DRAMATIC ONES. IN THE WEEKS TO COME
WE'LL BE POINTING OUT OTHER MANIFESTATIONS, AS WE
CONTINUE TO EXPLORE THE TOPIC OF "THE LAST CITIZE"
THE NEGRO IN AMERICA.

MUSIC THEME UP AND UNDER

ANNCR:

YOU HAVE BEEN LISTENING TO DR. LOUIS SCHNEIDER, PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY AT PURDUE UNIVERSITY AND THE PROGRAM'S PRODUCER-DIRECTOR E. W. RICHTER AS THEY DISCUSS "THE LAST CITIZEN". THIS PROGRAM WAS PRODUCED AND RECORDED BY WBAA, PURDUE UNIVERSITY UNDE A GRANT FROM THE EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION AND RADIO CENTER AND IS BEING DISTRIBUTED BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTERS.

MUSIC THEME UP TO FINISH

ANNCR: THIS IS THE NAEB RADIO NETWORK.

THE LAST CITIZEN

PROGRAM #4
"THE CHANGING IMAGE"
PART |

YOMAN 2; THEY'RE HAPPY AND CAREFREE...SINGING, DANCING WHEN-

MOMAN 3: BUT THEY RE NOT TO BE TRUSTED...RUN AWAY, EVEN KILL YOU IF THEY HAVE A CHANCE.

MAN: BUT ALL MEN WERE CREATED EQUAL.

MAN 2: (SLO V, DELIBERATE) ALL PERSONS BORN AND NATURALIZED IN THE UNITED STATES, AND SUBJECT TO THE JURISDICTION THEREOF, ARE <u>CITIZENS</u> OF THE UNITED STATES AND OF THE STATE WHEREIN THEY RESIDE.

MUSIC STINGER

ANNOR: THE FIRST AND LAST STATEMENTS WE HEARD HAD TWO HUNDRE YEARS, AND A GREAT CHANGE IN THE MINDS OF MEN, BETWEET THEM. WE SHALL EXAMINE THIS PERIOD AND THIS CHANGE AS WE EXPLORE "THE CHANGING IMAGE"...OF...THE LAST CITIZEN.

MUSIC STINGER

ANNCR:

THE LAST CITIZEN: THE NEGRO IN AMERICA. A SERIES
OF PROGRAMS DEVOTED TO THE EXTENSION OF OUR KNOWLEDGE
OF THE LARGEST MINORITY GROUP IN THE UNITED STATES,
ITS PROBLEMS, AND THE PROBLEMS IT POSES TO ALL AMERICANS. THE LAST CITIZEN IS PRODUCED BY RADIO STATION
WBAA, PURDUE UNIVERSITY UNDER A GRANT FROM THE EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION AND RADIO CENTER, IN COOPERATION
WITH THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTERS. THE DISCUSSANTS ARE THE PRODUCER OF THE
SERIES, E. J. RICHTER, AND DR. LOUIS SCHNEIDER, PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY AT PURDUE UNIVERSITY. TODAY'S
PROGRAM: "THE CHANGING IMAGE". HERE, NOW, IS MR.
RICHTER.

RICHTER:

OUR OPENING OR TEASER WAS A VERY BRIEF ATTEMPT TO SHOW THE CHANGES IN THE IMAGE...THE PUBLIC IMAGE... OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO DURING THE TIME BETWEEN HIS FIRST IMPORTATION INTO THE BRITISH COLONIES AND THE PASSAGE OF THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT SHORTLY AFTER THE CIVIL WAR. THIS IS THE PERIOD WITH WHICH WE WILL BE CONCERNED DURING THIS HALF HOUR. TODAY AND IN NEXT WEEK'S PROGRAM WE INTEND TO PROBE INTO THE PUBLIC IMAGE OF THE NEGRO, THAT IS INTO SOME OF THE CONFLICTING VIEWS SOCIETY AT LARGE TAKES OF HIM. IN THE PRO-

CESS OF DOING SO WE WILL ATTEMPT TO TRACE CHANGES IN THE IMAGE OF THE N EGRO FROM THE TIME OF HIS FIRST APPEARANCE ON THE NORTH AMERICAN CONTINENT TO THE PRESENT.

SCHNEIDER:

THE REASON WE CAN SPEAK OF THE NEGRO AS THE UNKNOWN MAN AS WE DID IN OUR FIRST PROGRAM, OF COURSE, IS THAT MOST OF US KNOW LITTLE, IF ANYTHING, ABOUT HIM. FOR EXAMPLE, WHILE WE HAVE A FAIRLY GOOD IDEA OF THE HISTORY OF OTHER EHTNIC GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES, THE BACKGROUND OF THE NEGRO IS PRETTY WELL SHROUDED IN MYTH AND MISCONCEPTION. IF WE THINK ABOUT THE NEGRO'S BACKGROUND AT ALL, WE'RE LIKELY TO THINK OF SLAVERY...OR OF A DIM SORT OF SO-CALLED "BARBARIC" BACKGROUND PRECEDING THE TIME OF SLAVERY. THERFORE, ONE OF THE THINGS WE MAY USEFULLY DO TODAY IN EXAMIN-INGTHE CHANGING IMAGE OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO IS TO DIC A BIT INTO HIS HISTORY. THE NEGRO SLAVE FIRST CAME North America in 1619 from Africa. And Before then THE SPANIARDS HAD USED SLAVES IN THE CARRIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA. BUT WHAT WAS THE BACKGROUND OF THE NEGRO? WAS IT A "BARBARIAN" BACKGROUND...IN THE SENS IN WHICH SOME PEOPLE MIGHT TAKE THIS WORD? A BACK-GROUND, THAT IS, OF SCREAMING WILD MEN WITHOUT THE RUDIMENTS OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION...OR WHAT SOME MIGHT CALL CIVILIZATION?

RICHTER:

A VISIT WITH THE AUTHOR-HISTORIAN, DR. RAYFORD LOGAN PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AT HOWARD UNIVERSITY, REVEALED THIS INFORMATION:

LOGAN:

SOME PERSONS WOULD BE SKEPTICAL WHEN THEY HEAR WHAT I AM NOW ABOUT TO SAY, AND SO IT WOULD BE WELL, PER-HAPS, TO COMMENT BRIEFLY ON THE CREDIBILITY OF THE WITNESSES. THERE WERE THREE MAJOR AFRICAN KINGDOMS FROM ABOUT 700BC TO THE END OF THE 16TH CENTURY. EVIDENCE AS TO THETEXISTENCE DESTHOSE KINGDOMS ... AND AS TO THE DEGREE OF C: VIL! ZATION WHICH THEY ATTAINED RESTS PRIMARILY ON THE EYE-WITNESS ACCOUNTS OF HOSTIL TRAVELERS, ESPECIALLY ARABS. THE THREE KINGDOMS WHICH I PARTICULARLY HAVE IN MIND, (THERE WERE SOME SMALLER ONES) WERE, IN THEIR CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER, GHANA, LIKE THE NEW STATE OF GHANA, MELLE, AND SONGHAY. THE MEDIEVAL KINGDOM OF GHANA DID NOT OCCUPY THE SAME TERRITORY NOW OCCUPIED BY THE NEW STATE OF GHANA, BUT IT IS HELD BY MANY HISTORIANS THAT PEOPLE LIVING IN MEDIEVAL GHANA MIGRATED TO THE PRESENT STATE OF GHANA AND THAT THEREFORE THERE IS JUSTIFICATION FOR THAT NAME. IT IS THE CONSIDERED JUDGEMENT OF MANY COMP-ETENT HISTORIANS, ESPECIALLY EUROPEAN HISTORIANS, THAT THE STATE OF CIVILIZATION ATTAINED BY THESE MED-IEVAL AFRICAN KINGDOMS WAS AT LEAST COMPARABLE TO

THAT IN EUROPE AT THE SAME TIME.

WOULD YOU LIKE TO DEVELOP THAT A LITTLE BIT FURTHER? RICHT R:

LOGAN:

YES. FOR EXAMPLE, THEY HAD AN ORDERED SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT, USUALLY WITH KING AND A COUNCIL OF NOTABL THEY HAD EXTENSIVE TRADE ACROSS THE SAHARA DESERT WITH NORTH AFRICA AND WITH SOUTHWESTERN EUROPE. MANY OF THEIR RULERS MADE THE PILGRIMAGE TO MECCA, AN IND-ICATION OF THE FACT THAT THEY WERE MUSLIMS, BUT THEY WERE NONETHELESS WHAT WOULD BE CALLED NEGROES TODAY .. THEY HAD UNIVERSITIES, AND THERE COMES TO MIND INSTAN-LY THE FAMOUS CITY OF TIMBUCTU, ON THE BIG BEND OF TH NIGER RIVER. FORTUNATELY, A FRENCH EXPLORER BY THE NAME OF FELIX DU BOIS VISITED TIMBUCTU IN THE EARLY PART OF THE CENTURY, AND FOUND EXTANT EVIDENCES OF THE HIGH DEGREE OF CIVILIZATION AS MANIFESTED BY EXTREMEL FORTUNATE THAT MESSIEU DU BOIS MADE THAT TRIP, BECAUS ACCORDING TO RECENT TRAVELLERS, PRACTICALLY NOTHING : LEFT. MOREOVER, ONE DISASTROUS EFFECT OF THE SLAVE TRADE WAS THAT IN THE BEGINNING IT WAS CONFINED LARGE LY TO THE WEST COAST OF AFRICA. BY THE TIME EUROPEA! PENETRATED INTO THE INTERIOR, ARABS COMING DOWN FROM THE NORTH HAD CONQUERED THE INDIGINOUS RULERS, AND THEIR PEOPLE, AND HAD DESTROYED MANY OF THE PHYSICAL EVIDENCES OF THEIR CIVILIZATION, SO THAT THE WRITINGS OF VISITORS FROM THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ON WERE BASED RATHER ON WHAT THEY SAW AFTER THE OVERTHROW OF THOSE KINGDOMS THAN ON THE TYPE OF CIVILIZATION WHICH HAD EXISTED FROM 700 DOWN TO ABOUT 1591 WHEN THE ARABS OVERTHREW SONGHAY, THE LAST OF THOSE GREAT MEDIEVAL AFRICAN DINGDOMS.

VAS SLAVERY IN EXISTENCE IN AFRICA DURING THE COURSE RICHTER: OF THESE KINGDOMS?

SLAVERY HAD EXISTED IN AFRICA, SPECIFICALLY IN WEST AFRICA, FOR MANY YEARS, GOING BACK, OF COURSE, AS FAI AS RECORLED EVIDENCE IS AVAILABLE, TO THE TIME OF THE ROMANS, ARD DURING THIS PERIOD FROM 700 TO THE END O' THE 16TH CENTURY SLAVERY UNDENIABLE EXISTED. THE DIF ERENCE IS, HOWEVER, THAT SLAVERY WAS A KIND OF DOMES TIC SLAVERY. IT INVOLVED, UNDOUGTEDLY, INTERTRIBAL WARFARE TO SOME DEGREE, BUT OBVIOUSLY THERE WAS LITTE SLAVE TRADING TO THE WESTERN WORLD.

AT THIS POINT WE MIGHT EXPLORE THE REASONS FOR THE IMPORTATION INTO THE NEW WORLD OF SLAVES FROM AFRICA ATTEMPTS HAD BEEN MADE BY NORTH AMERICA SETTLERS TO ENSLAVE INDIANS. HOWEVER, THE INDIANS WERE HIGHLY SUSCEPTIBLE TO DISEASES BROUGHT BY THE WHITES, TO WHICH THEY HAD ACQUIRED NO IMMUNITY. BESIDES, THEY DIDN'T SEEM TO MAKE EFFICIENT WORKERS UNDER A PLANT-

LOGAN:

SCHNIEDER:

ATION REGIME, A DEFICIENCY RELATED, NO DOUBT, TO THE RELATIVE SIMPLICITY OF THE ECONOMIC BACKGROUND FROM WHICH THEY HAD COME. INDIANS ALSO KNEW THEIR OWN TRAILS AND FORESTS IN A FASHION THAT LATER NEGRO SLAVES DID NOT. AND IT WAS NOT ALWAYS WISE TO ENSLAVE INDIANS WHOSE KINSMEN MIGHT VISIT REPRISALS ON THE WHITES. THE WHITES ALSO TRIED WHITE INDENTURED SERVANTS, WHO WOULD GO THROUGH A PERIOD OF SERVITUDE DURING WHI H THEY DID HEAVY LABOR IN FOREST AND FIELD BUT WHITE SERVANTS COULD GO TO LAW FOR THEIR RIGHTS THEY RAN AWAY, THEY HAD TO BE REPLACED WHEN THEIR PERIOD OF SERVITUDE ENDED, AND THEN THEY MIGHT WELL BUY LAND AND START COMPETING WITH THEIR FORMER MASTER THE TREMENDOUS DEMANDS OF THE NEW WORLD FOR LABOR COULD NOT, IN ANY CASE, BE SATISFIED BY WHITE SERVANT

RICHTER:

SO WE BEGIN TO SEE WHY THE WHITE MAN BEGAN TO LOOK OF THE NEGRO WITH A NEW AND SPECIAL INTEREST. MORE INTERESTING SIDELIGHTS ON THIS SUBJECT WERE FURNISHE. US BY DR. JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN, HISTORIAN, AUTHOR, AND CHARIMAN OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AT BROOKLYN COLLEGE, NEW YORK:

FRANKOIN:

I THINK IT OUGHT TO BE REMEMBERED THAT THE FIRST NEGROES THAT CAME TO ENGLISH AMERICA WERE NOT SLAVES. BUT WERE INDENTURED SERVANTS. IT WAS THE EXPERIENCE THAT ENGLISH AMERICA HAD WITH NEGROES THAT CONVINCED THE ENGLISH-AMERICANS THAT NEGROES WERE QUITE SUIT-ADLE FOR ENSLAVEMENT. ONE FACTOR, OF COURSE, WAS THAT OF COLOR. THE FACT THAT THE NEGRO WAS QUITE DIFFERENT FROM THE WHITE MAN IN COLOR AND IN PHYSIOG-NOMY, GENERALLY, AMDE IT POSSIBLE FOR HIM TO BE SET ASIDE AND THEN BE PRESUMED TO BE A SLAVE. THIS WOULT OF COURSE, OBVIATE ANY CONFUSION WITH RESPECT TO RUN-AWAYS. FOR IF PERSONS OF THE SKIN OF A NEGRO AND TH TEXTURE OF HAIR OF THE NEGRO, ETCETERA, WERE FOUND. THEY WERE PRESUMED TO BE SLAVES AND COULD BE RETURNED TO THEIR MASTERS. ANOTHER CONSIDERATION WAS THE RE-MARKABLE CAPACITY FOR ADJUSTMENT THAT THE NEGRO DEMOR STRATED...BOTH IN EUROPE, AND PARTICULARLY IN THE NE WORLD. I HAVE SAID, IN WRITING, THAT THIS CAPACITY, OR ONE MIGHT TERM IT A RESILIENCY UNDER ADVERSE CIR-CUMSTANCES, EMERGES IN PART FROM THE KIND OF CULTURE OUT OF WHICH HE CAME...WHICH WAS, BY THE WAY, NOT A BACKWARD AND UNDERDEVELOPED CULTURE SO MUCH AS IT WAS A RATHER WELL DEVELOPED CULTURE IN WHICH LOYALTY AND OBEDIENCE AND ADJUSTMENT WERE IMPORTANT CONSIDERATIO So THAT WHEN THE NEGRO CAME TO THE CARRIBBEAN, AND LATER TO MAINLAND AMERICA, HE REFLECTED THESE QUALI-TIES OF ADJUSTMENT. AND ALTHOUGH IT WAS A THOROUGH! UNDESTRABLE AND REPREHENSIBLE STATE IN WHICH HE FOUND HIMSELF ... THAT CAN BE PROVED, OF COURSE, EASILY BY

THE RESISTANCE TO SLAVERY WHICH HE MANIFESTED AT EVERY HAND...HE NEVERTHELESS DID NOT SUCCUMB, UNDER THESE CONDITIONS, BUT BEAT BACK AND ADJUSTED AND DEMONSTRATED THAT IT WAS POSSIBLE FOR THE WHITE MAN TO ENSLAVE HIM AND FOR HIM TO SURVIVE. THERE WAS ALS ANOTHER CONSIDERATION, THAT IS THAT EUROPEANS WERE AT LEAST IN PART TROUBLED BY THE PROBLEM OF ENSLAVING PERSONS WHO WERE WITHIN THEIR PROGRAM OF CHRISTIAN-IZATION AND OF CIVILIZATION. THEY REGARDED LARGE NUMBERS OF ASIAN AND EVEN NORTH AMERICAN PERSONS AS PERSONS WHO SHOULD BE BROUGHT UNDER THEIR EVANGELICAL INFLUENCE. THEY DID NOT SEEM TO HAVE THE SAME ATTI-TUDE TOWARD AFRICANS, CERTAINLY NOT IN THE EARLY PERIOD. BUT THE POINT IS EUROPEANS SEEM TO HAVE FELT THAT AFRICANS WERE, SOMEHOW, OUTSIDE, UH, THE PALE. THAT THEY WERE NOT FAIR SUBJECTS TO BE, UH, CHRIST-IANIZED. SO THAT THEY COULD IN GOOD CONSCIENCE, UH, ENSLAVE NEGROES AND AT THE SAME TIME NOT FEEL THAT THEY HAD BETRAYED THEIR EVANGELICAL PROGRAMS.

RICHTER .

IN OTHER WORDS, THE NEGRO WAS ENSLAVED IN GREAT PART FOR REASONS OF EXPEDIENCY: A GREAT AMOUNT OF LABOR WAS NEEDED IN THE NEW WORLD TO EXTRACT WEALTH FROM THE LAND, OTHER METHODS HAD BEEN TRIED AND DIDN'T WORK...AND THE NEGRO WITH HIS PARTICULAR CULTURAL BACKGROUND, IDENTIFIABILITY, AND INITIAL EXCLUSION FROM THE RELIGION OF THE WHITE MAN OFFERED THE BEST AVAILABLE TOOL.

SCHNEIDER:

AND AT THIS POINT WE BEGIN TO SEE THE EMERGENCE OF AM AMERICAN IMAGE OF THE NEGRO. IT WOULD BE WELL TO REMEMBER THAT THE SLAVE TRADE ITSELF HAD BEEN THE PROVINCE ENTIRELY OF THE EUROPEANS. THE FIRST EURO-PEAN NATION TO ENGAGE IN BUSINESS OF SELLING MEN WAS PORTUGAL. LATER, COMMERCIAL BATTLES WERE FOUGHT AMONG THE DUTCH, FRENCH, ENGLISH, AND PORTUGUESE A MONOPOOY CONTROL OF THIS EUCRATIVE BUSINESS. IN FACT, IT WAS A DUTCH SHIP THAT LEFT THE FIRST NEGRO SLAVES IN JAMESTOWN IN 1619. THE POINT THAT WE'RE GETTING AT IS THAT ALTHOUGH SOME NEGROES CAME TO NORTH AMERICA AS INDENTURED SERVANTS, AS DR. FRANKLI SAYS, THE MAJOR EXPERIENCE THAT THE WHITES HAD OF THE NEGRO WAS IN MEETING HIM AS A SLAVE ... WITH NO EXPERIENCE WHATEVER OF HIM IN HIS ORIGINAL AFRICAN SURROUNDINGS. IN A SITUATION SUCH AS THIS IT WOULD BE QUITE EASY FOR A PERSON TO FORGET THAT THE NEGRO'S CONDITION HAD, IN THE FIRST PLACE, BEEN IMPOSED UPON HIM. AND WAS NOT A FACT OF "NATURE". | BELFEVE WE DO OFTEN TEND TO TAKE FOR GRANTED AND AS SOMEHOW "NATURAL" WHAT WE SEE ACTUALLY PREVAILING. ONE MIGHT EVEN SUGGEST THAT JUST BECAUSE WHITES SAW THE NEGRO ENSLAVED, LARGE NUMBERS OF THEM WOULD HAVE BEEN IN-CAPABLE OF CONCEIVING WITH ANY CLARITY THAT HE MIGHT BE OTHER THAT A SLAVE. BUT AT THE SAME TIME, THIS WAS CERTAINLY NOT TRUE FOR ALL WHITES. I'M THINKING PARTICULARLY OF THE QUAKERS AND MENNONITES WHO BEGAN

PROTESTING AGAINST THE INSTITUTION OF SLAVERY IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, NOT TOO LONG AFTER THE FIRST SLAVES HAD MADE THEIR APPEARANCE ON AMERICAN SOIL. IN 1776, IN FACT, THE FRIENDS IN PHILADELPHIA FINALL DISOWNED MEMBERS WHO REFUSED TO EMANCIPATE THEIR SLAVES. HOWEVER, THE INTERESTING POINT ABOUT THIS IS NOT SO MUCH THAT MANY QUAKERS, WITH THEIR IDEALS, FEL AS THEY DID ABOUT SLAVERY AMONG THEMSELVES, BUT THAT EVEN THEY TENDED TO TOLERATE AND PRACTICE SLAVERY FOR A HUNDRED YEARS OR MORE.

RICHTER: AND YET THIS WAS ONLY ONE AMERICAN RELIGIOUS GROUP'S

JE CAN SAVE FULLER DISCUSSION OF THE REALTIONSHIP OF RELIGION TO THE NEGRO FOR A FUTURE PROGRAM. AT THIS POINT I BELIEVE THAT IT SUFFICES TO NOTE THAT EVEN IN THIS EARLY PERIOD OF THE HISTORY OF THE NEGRO IN AMERICA THERE WERE CONFLICTING IMAGES OF HIM, AND THE ARGUMENT THAT CONVERSION WOULD NOT IN ANY WAY CHALLENGE SLAVE STATUS WAS ULTIMATELY PRETTY WIDELY ACCEPTED.

AND IT WOULD SEEM THAT THIS CONFLICT OF IMAGES, IN THIS CASE RELIGIOUS IMAGES, HAS ENDURED EVEN TO THE PRESENT DAY. BUT WHAT OF OTHER IMAGE CONFLICTS HAVI THEIR ORIGIN IN COLONIAL AMERICA, LOU?

THERE WERE ARGUMENTS FROM NATURAL LAW WHICH SOMETIME BECAME DECIDEDLY COMPLICATED. WANY PHILOSOPHICALLY INCLINED THINKERS, BOTH IN COLONIAL AMERICA AND IN THE NEW INDIPENDENT AMERICA, ARGUED THAT SLAVERY WAS "INITS NATURE FIT AND PROPER, JUST AND RIGHT" IF IT MADE FOR THE HAPPINESS OF THE ENTIRE COMMUNITY. THE TO BE SURE, THEY PROCEEDED TO ARGUE THAT ON THE WHOL IT DID MAKE FOR HAPPINESS OF THE COMMUNITY. ANOTHER LINE OF ARGUMENT WAS THAT IT WAS PERFECTLY RIGHT FOR GOD TO GOVERN THE UNIVERSE IN VIRTUE OF HIS PERFECT! AND THE IMPERFECTION OF MAN, JUST AS PARENTS HAD THE RIGHT TO GOVERN THEIR CHILDREN BECAUSE THEY "KNEW BETTER" THAN THEIR CHILDREN. SO SOME MEN COULD EXEP CISE AUTHORITY OVER OTHERS BECAUSE OF INEQUALITIES AMONG THEM. BECAUSE OF THE SUPERIOR WISDOM AND EX-CELLENCE OF THE WHITE MAN, THEREFORE, HE VALIDLY HEL THE AUTHORITY HE DID OVER THE NEGRO. Now, IT IS TRU THAT SOME THINKERS ARGUED ABOUT NATURAL LAW, OR THE LA OF NATURE, IN SUCH A VAY AS TO MAKE IT COME OUT AGAINST SLAVERY, BUT OTHER NATURAL LAW ARGUMENTS HAD THE PRO-SLAVERY CHARACTER I'VE JUST INDICATED. THE IMAGE OF THE NEGRO THAT EMERGES FROM THESE ARGUMENT INEVITABLY IS ONE THAT EMPHASIZES THAT HE IS LESS GIFTED THAN THE WHITE MAN, LESS FIT TO EXERCISE AU-

RICHTER:

SCHNEIDER:

SCHNEIDER:

THORITY, ACTUALLY MORE CHILDLIKE AND IN NEED OF COM-PLETE SUBORDINATION IN THE INTEREST OF GENERAL WELFAL

RICHTER: AND IT WAS MENTIONED EARLIER THAT THE IMAGE THE EARLY
WHITE AMERICAN HAD OF THE NEGRO WAS INFLUENCED BY HIS
IGNORANCE OF THE NEGRO'S BACKGROUND.

SCHNEIDER: Another factor in the negative image of the Negro was that, under slavery, of course, he couldn't possibly "Look very good" in a number of respects. Legally, he was forbidden to learn to write and sometimes a master would help him in this despite laws, or at least not stand in his way. But given the circum - stanceshe was not likely to be impressively literate

ALONG WITH THIS IDEA OF THE INSTITUTION OF SLAVERY ITSELF PROFOUNDLY INFLUENCING THE IMAGE OF THE NEGRODR. FRANKLIN ALSO POINTED OUT TO US THAT NEGROES, WHE GIVEN RESPONSIBLE POSITIONS UNDER SLAVERY, PERFORMED VERY CREDITABLY. WHEN THEIR MOT!VATION WAS LOW, ON THE OTHER HAND, AS IT OFTEN WAS, THEIR PRODUCTIVITY SUFFERED AND THE EFFICIENCY OF THE SLAVE SYSTEM WAS REDUCED.

DESPITE THIS, HOWEVER, THE NEGRO OF THE PRE-WAR SOUTH SEEMS TO HAVE PRODUCED A FAIR AMOUNT OF WORK, AND NUMEROUS HISTORIANS MAINTAIN THAT SLAVERY REMAINED A PROFITABLE INSTITUTION UNTIL THE VERY END. MORE IMAGES OF THE NEGRO THAT WE MIGHT TOUCH ON...IMAGES CERTAINLY CONNECTED WITH THE SLAVE PERIOD ... ARE THOSE OF THE NEGRO AS AN IMMORAL ! NDIVIDUAL, THE NEGRO AS A BUFFOON. AND THE NEGRO AS A TREACHEROUS CREATIVE. FIRST, THE QUESTION OF IMMORALITY: SINCE, AS A SLAVE THE NEGRO WAS A PIECE OF PROPERTY, AND SINCE NOTHING LIKE REAL BUTTRESSING OF MARRIAGES OF NEGROES UNDER SLAVERY BY THE WHITE MAN'S LA : EXISTED, IT WAS POSS-IBLE, AS IS WELL KNOWN, FOR MAN TO BE SOLD AWAY FROM WIFE, AND MAN OR WIFE TO BE SEPARATED FROM CHILDREN. IF SOME NEGROES WERE CONSEQUENTLY APATHETIC ABOUT, OF INDIFFERENT TO, THE MARRIAGE BOND ... AND THIS WAS UNDERSTANDABLE...THERE WERE NEVERTHELESS WHITES READ' TO CONDEMN THEM AS NOT FIT FOR MARRIAGE. THE NEGRO ! BUFFOON IS A COMMON IMAGE...APPEARING, FOR EXAMPLE, AMERICAN FILMS UNTIL QUITE RECENTLY. THIS IS TIED IN WITH THE ENTIRE CONCEPT OF THE NEGRO AS A HAPPY, CARL FREE SIMPLE INDIVIDUAL. ACTUALLY, HOWEVER, THE NEGRE DISCOVERED, EARLY IN HIS SLAVE EXPERIENCE, THAT BUFF OONERY PAID OFF. A MASTER WHO WAS MADE TO LAUGH WAS LIKELY TO GRANT FAVORS OR INDULGENCES, OR EVEN LIGHT. EN THE WORK-LOAD OF THE AMUSING SLAVE...PARTLY AS A REWARD FOR BEING AMUSING, AND PARTLY AS A REWARD FOR RE-ENFORCEMENT THE IMAGE OF THE CHILDLIKE SLAVE. THE

RICHTER:

SCHNEIDER:

IMAGE OF THE NEGRO AS A TREACHEROUS, FEARSOME INDIVIDUAL NO DOUBT HAD SOMETHING TO DO WITH BLOODY UP-RISINGS AGAINST THE WHITES WHICH OCCURRED FROM TIME TO TIME. THE IDEA, OR **MAGE, OF THE NEGRO AS A PETTY THIEF AGAIN STEMMED HISTORICALLY FROM THE SLAVE INSTITUTION IN WHICH IT WAS, FOR EXAMPLE, MORE OR LESS EXPECTED THAT HOUSE SERVANTS WOULD FILCH FOOD AND GOODS FROM THE WHITE MAN'S LARDER. IN FACT, "TOTING", WHICH IS THE NAME FOR SUCH PETTY THIEVERY, IS STILL SOMETHING OF AN INSTITUTION IN THE SOUTH. I REMEMBER HEARING A STORY NOT LONG AGO OF A PRESENT DAY SOUTHER WHITE WOMAN WHO BERATED A SERVANT FOR NOT STEALING... AFTER ALL IT WAS EXPECTED OF HER, AND WHO DID SHE THINK SHE WAS, ANYWAY? THE IMPLICATION IS THAT HONESTY IS A CHARACTERISTIC UNBECOMING TO NEGROES.

RICHTIR:

IN OTHER WORDS, IT WAS MADE JUST ABOUT IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE NEGRO TO LEARN, AND HE WAS LAUGHED AT FOR HIS IGNORANCE. HE WAS GIVEN NO REAL MOTIVATION TO WORK, AND WAS CALLED LAZY AND SHIFTLESS FOR NOT PERFORMING WELL. GENUINE MARRIAGE, WITH THE SAFEGUARDS AND GUAT ANTEES THAT GO ALONG ITH IT, WAS PLACED BEYOND HIS REACH, AND THEN HE WAS CRITICIZED FOR TRYING NOT TO "CARE"TOO MUCH, AND SO ON.

SCHNEIDER:

YES. AND THE GENERAL POINT HERE IS EXTREMELY IMPORT-ANT. JE SEE THE NEGRO KEPT ILLITERATE UNDER SLAVERY AND THEN MOCKED FOR HIS IGNORANCE. YE SEE THAT WHITE HAD SOME EXPECTATION THAT THE NEGRO WOULD LIVE UP TO CERTAIN STANDARDS OF BEHAVIOR IN SEXUAL AND MARITAL MATTERS, AND THEN THOSE SAME WHITES EFFECTIVELY MADE IT DIFFICULT OR IMPOSSIBLE FOR HIM TO DO SO BY GIVIN MINIMUM RECOGNITION TO HIS MARRIAGE BONDS AND FAMILY LIFE...TURNING, AFTER THAT, UPON HIM AND CALLING HIM IMMORAL AND CALLOUS. TIME AND AGAIN THE NEGRO WAS VIRTUALLY FORCED INTO CERTAIN MODES OF BEHAVIOR THAT THE WHITES COULD EASILY CRITICIZE...BUT BEHAVIOR THA WAS ONLY TO BE EXPECTED UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES. VE HAVE, IN ALL THIS, CERTAINLY, THE FAMILIAR TACTIC OF KICKING FOR BLEEDING. THE NEGRO, HAVING HIS VEINS OPENED, BLEEDS ... WHEREUPON THE WHITE WHO OPENED THEM PUNISHES HIM FURTHER... VE CAN ALSO CERTAINLY SEE THA FAVORABLE IMAGES OF THE NEGRO WERE NOT ENCOURAGED BY WHAT HAS BEEN REFERRED TO AS THE "PECULIAR INSTITUTI

RICHTER:

WELL...GIVEN THIS SET OF IMAGES IT WOULD SEEM THAT THE JUSTIFICATION OF SLAVERY WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN TOO DIFFICULT FOR THOSE WHO WISHED TO JUSTIFY IT. COULD WE GO ON FROM HERE, LOU, AND FOLLOW THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOUTHERN VIEW OF SLAVERY AND ITS IMPACT ON THIMAGE OF THE NEGRO?

SCHNEIDER: IN GENERAL, OF COURSE, SOUTHERN OPINION WAS IN FAVOR

OF SLAVERY. THERE SEEMS LITTLE DOUBT THAT THE LARGE SLAVEHOLDERS, AT ANY RATE, WERE ON THE WHOLE STRONGLY COMMITTED TO SLAVERY, AND APPARENTLY A GOOD MANY OTH-ERS WHO EITHER HAD VERY FEW SLAVES OR NONE AT ALL WED WILLING TO GO ALONG WITH THEM. IT'S MY UNDERSTANDING THAT FROM THE THE END OF THE COLONIAL PERIOD UNTIL ABOUT 1820, SLAVEHOLDERS, WHILE OF COURSE THEY FAVORE SLAVERY, WERE RELATIVELY MILD ABOUT THEIR DEFENSE OF IT. BUT AFTER 1820, THE DEFENSE BECAME MUCH MORE ACTIVE AND AGGRESSIVE. THE FAMOUS SENATOR FROM SOUTH CAROLINA, JOHN C. CALHGUN, WAS ONE OF THE MOST PROMI-NENT OF THOSE IN THE PERIOD AFTER 1820 WHO EXPLICITLY DENIED SLAVERY WAS AN EVIL, AND ASSERTED, ON THE CON-TRARY, THAT IT WAS A POSITIVE GOOD. HE ASSERTED THAT IT HAD PROVED "A GREAT BLESSING TO BOTH OF THE RACES" THAT IT HAD BEEN THE GREAT STAY OF THE UNION AND OUT FREE INSTITUTIONS ", AND FURTHER, THAT IT HAD BEEN ONE OF THE MAIN SOURCES OF THE UNBOUNDED PROSPERITY OF THE WHOLE". FINALLY, FROM 1830 TO 1860 PRO-SLAVE THINKING IN THE SOUTH HAD ACHIEVED ITS PERFECTION. ANGUMENTS FERE PULISHED AND COMPLETED, AND THE SOUTH WAS STATING THE PRO-SLAVERY CASE IN A THOROUGHLY FORTHRIGHT MANNER.

RICHTER:

JOULD YOU CARE TO OUTLINE SOME OF THIS PRO-SLAVERY THOUGHT, LOU?

SCHNELDER:

MELL, I'D PARTICULARLY LIKE TO MENTION THE WORK OF JOSIAH CLARKE NOTT WHICH HAS BEEN REVIEWED BY JENKIN. THE HISTORIAN PEOPROASERVERYOUNGHT TRETGEDOLDUSQUT NOTT WAS A PHYSICIAN FROM ALABAMA, WHO WAS ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN THE 1840'S AND SUBSEQUENTLY IN SUPPORTING THE VIEW OF THE DIVERSE ORIGINS OF MANKIND. NOTT HA DEFINITELY DECIDED THAT THE NEGRO WAS OF A DIFFERENT SPECIES FROM THE WHITE MAN...IF YOU LIKE, A DIFFERENT KIND OF ANIMAL. FOR SOME YEARS HE WAS MORE OR LESS ALONE IN HIS VIEWS, BUT HE FOUND ALIES BEFORE VERY LONG. ACCORDING TO ONE HISTORIAN, NOTT WAS WRITING BY 1850, "MY GREAT OBJECT FOR SEVERAL YEARS HAS BEEN TO GET THE WORLD QUARRELLING ABOUT NIGGEROLOGY AND HAVE AT LAST SUCCEEDED, AND SHALL SIT ON THE FENCE N AND ENJOY THE FIGHT ". I DON'T WANT TO GIVE THE IM-PRESSION THAT NOTT SIMPLY WIPED OUT ALL OPPOSITION 7 HIM. HE DID NOT. THERE WERE STRONG DEFENDERS OF TH THESIS OF THE UNITY OF ALL MANKIND. BUT IT'S TRUE THAT THEORIES LIKE THOSE OF DR. NOTT LEFT A LASTING IMPRESSION ON THE SOUTH. IN ONE FORM OR ANOTHER THE HAVE CERTAINLY SURVIVED UNTIL THE PRESENT DAY, AND THEY CONSTITUTE A KIND OF INTELLECTUAL CAPITAL ON WHICH SOME PEOPLE DRAW TIME AND AGAIN IN PERIODS OF CRISIS WHEN ARGUMENTS AGAINST THE NEGRO, AND AGAINST HIS FRIENDS WHO ARGUE FOR EQUALITY FOR HIM, ARE NEED RICHTER:

AND WHILE THESE IDEAS WERE BUILDING IN THE SOUTH,
THE ABOLITIONISTS IN THE NORTH WERE BUILDING UP A
COUNTER PRESSURE BASED ON OPPOSING POINTS OF VIEW?

SCHNEIDER:

NOT JUST IN NORTH. FOR EXAMPLE, HINTON ROWAN HELPER. A SOUTH CAROLINIAN, LAUNCHED AN UNRESERVED ATTACK ON THE INSTITUTION OF SLAVERY IN HIS BOOK THE IMPENDING CRISIS OF THE SOUTH PUBLISHED IN 1857. HELPER IS WELL KNOWN, AT LEAST AMONG SCHOLARS. WHILE HIS BOOK WON HIM PROFOUND ANTAGONISM IN THE SOUTH, IT HAD A DECIDED IMPACT ON THE NORTH. HELPER ATTEMPTED TO DEMONSTRATE THE GREAT SUPERIORITY OF FREE OVER SLAVE INSTITUTIONS IN A WIDE-RANGING ARGUMENT. IN MANY WAY THE IMPENDING CRISIS OF THE SOUTH STILL MAKES A POWER FUL IMPACT, EVEN ON THE READER OF TODAY, A HUNDRED YEARS AFTER IT MAS PUBLISHED. ONE OF THE OUTSTANDING FEATURES OF THE BOOK WAS THE UTTERLY UNCOMPROMISING ATTITUDE TOWARD SLAVERY THAT HELPER SHOWED. HE WAS ALSO CONCERNED WITH THE NON-SLAVEHOLDING WHITES WHO WERE IN THE GREAT MAJORITY IN THE SOUTH BEFORE THE CIVIL VAR...ONLY ABOUT A FOURTH, AT THE MOST, OF SOUT ERN WHITES WERE SLAVEHOLDERS ... AND EVEN A MUCH SMALLE PROPORTION OWNED MORE THAN A FEW SLAVES. HELPER WAS BITTER AGAINST THE SLAVE-HOLDERS WHO, HE FELT, AMD DEGRADED THE NON-SLAVEHOLDING WHITES THROUGH THE WORKINGS OF SLAVERY. TO QUOTE HIM, "THE LORDS OF THE LASH ARE NOT ONLY ABSOLUTE MASTERS OF THE BLACKS, WHO ARE BOUGHT AND SOLD, AND DRIVEN ABOUT LIKE SO MANY CATTLE, BUT THEY ARE ALSO THE OR. CLES AND ARBITERS OF ALL NON-SLAVEHOLDING WHITES, WHOSE FREEDOM IS MERELY NOMINAL, AND WHOSE UNPARALLELED ILLITERACY AND DE-GRADATION IS PURPOSELY AND FIENDISHLY PERPETUATED. ". BUT IN ORDER TO HEAR THE REAL ELOQUENCE WITH WHICH HELPER ATTACKED SLAVERY. WHY DON'T YOU READ THIS PASSAGE FROM HIS BOOK, VALT?

RICHTER:

ALL RIGHT, LET'S. "IN OUR OPINION...THE CAUSES WHICH HAVE IMPEDED THE PROGRESS AND PROSPERITY OF THE SOUTH WHICH HAVE DWINDLED OUR COMMERCE, AND OTHER SIMILAR PURSUITS, INTO THE MOST CONTEMPTIBLE INSIGNIFIGANCE; SUNK A LARGE MAJORITY OF OUR PEOPLE IN GALLING POVER AND IGNORANCE, RENDERED A SMALL MINORITY CONCEITED AND TYRANNICAL, AND DRIVEN THE REST AWAY FROM THEIR HOMES; ENTAILED UPON US A HUMILIATING DEPENDENCE ON THE FREE STATES; DISGRACED US IN THE RECESSES OF OUR OWN SOULS, AND BROUGHT US UNDER REPROACH IN THE EYES OF ALL CIVILIZED AND ENLIGHTENED NATIONS - MAY ALL BE TRACED TO ONE COMMON SOURCE, AND THERE FIND SOLUTION IN THE MOST HATEFUL AND WORD, THAT WAS EVER INCORPORATED INTO THE VOCABULARY OF HUMAN ECONOMY - "SLAVERY". THAT IS PRETTY STRONG STUFF.

SCHNEIDER:

BUT WE MUSTN'T ALLOW OURSELVES TO BE OVERWHELMED. THIS IS ONLY ONE MAN SPEAKING, AND MOST CERTAINLY

SOUTHERN OPINION WASN'T SOLIDLY WITH HIM.

RICHTER:

TO SUMMARISE VERY BRIEFLY THE MATERIAL WITH WHICH WE'VE DEALT TODAY: WHENEVER THE NEGRO HAS RECEIVED UNFAVORABLE TREATMENT, THE IMAGES OF HIM HAVE TENDED

TO BE UNFAVORABLE.

SCHNEIDER:

AND TO EXTEND THE MATTER A BIT, WE'RE REALLY MAKING TWO POINTS HERE. ONE IS A KIND OF BEHAVIORISTIC ONE. NAMELY THAT OUR IMAGES ARE CONDITIONED BY OUR ACTIONS. WE TREAT THE NEGRO BADLY; HENCE HE DOESN'T 'LOOK VERY GOOD"; HENCE WE REGARD HIM AS INFERIOR. THE SECOND POINT IS THIS: ONCE YOU TREAT THE NEGRO UNFAVORABLY. INSOFAR AS YOU HAVE INNER MORAL QUALMS ABOUT THIS, YOU FEEL IMPELLED TO JUSTIFY THE UNFAVORABLE TREATMENT. THEN YOU BEGIN TO PILE INSULT ON INJURY, SOMETHING WE'VE NOTED BEFORE. SINCE YOU'VE TREATED HIM UNFAVOR-ABLY IN THE FIRST PLACE, YOU MUST "PROVE" THAT HE DE-SERVES IT, OR THAT IT'S GOOD FOR HIM, OR THAT THAT IS WHAT GOD PLANNED SINCE THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE WORLD WERE LAID. WHICH BRINGS US FULL CIRCLE BACK TO THE MECHANISMS WE'VE ALREADY BEEN OPERATING IN OUR GENERAL DISCUSSION OF PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION.

RICHTER:

AND WITH THIS FINAL FOINT IT IS NECESSARY FOR US TO BREAK OFF OUR DISCUSSION OF THE CHANGING IMAGES OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO UNTIL NEXT WEEK. JOIN US AGAIN NEXT WEEK AS WE CONTINUE EXPLORING THE "CHANGING IMAGE" AS WE DISCUSS "THE UNKNOWN CITIZEN".

MUSIC

THEME UP NO UNDER

ANNCR:

You have been distening to DR. Louis Schneider, Professor of Sociology at Purdue University, and the Program's Producer-Director of this program series, E. M. Richter, as they've discussed "The Last Citizen". This program was produced and recorded by WBA., Purdue University, under a grant from the educational television and radio center, and is being distributed by the National Association of Educational Broadcasters.

MUSIC:

THEME UP TO FINISH

ANNCR:

THIS IS THE NAEB RADIO NETWORK.

THE LAST CITIZEN

PROGRAM #5
THE CHANGING IMAGE"
PART 2

VOICE: (SLIGHT ECHO) WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF-EVIDENT THAT ALL MEN WERE CREATED EQUAL.

MAN I: A MAN HAS HIS PROPERTY RIGHTS. THESE ABOLITIONISTS
ARE A MENACE TO THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE.

VOCCE:

Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

MAN2: ALL RIGHT, THEY'RE FREE. BUT THAT DOESN'T MAKE 'EM

VCICE: ALL PERSONS BORN OR NATURALIZED IN THE UNITED STATES, AND SUBJECT TO THE JURISDICTION THEREOF, ARE CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES AND OF THE STATE WHEREIN THEY RESIDE.

MAN 3: ALL I CAN SAY IS, THEY'RE INFERIOR AND HAVE GOT TO BE KEPT IN THEIR PLACE.

MAN 1: YEAH...AND THIS GUY DARWIN PROVES WE'RE RIGHT. VHY
THEY EVOLVED ENTIRELY DIFFERENTLY FROM US.

VOICE: AND GOD CREATED MAN.

MUSIC STINGER

ANNOR: THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH AMENDMENTS, AND GENESIS...ONE SIDE OF THE ARGUMENT. MAN'S NEED TO JUSTIFY HIS ACTIONS, THE OTHER SIDE. TODAY WE CONTINUE EXPLORING "THE CHANGING ING IMAGE" OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO...THE LAST CITIZEN.

MUSIC STINGER

ANNOR:

THE LAST CITIZEN: THE NEGRO IN AMERICA. A SERIES OF PROGRAMS DEVOTED TO THE EXTENSION OF OUR KNOWLEDGE OF THE LARGEST MINORITY GROUP IN THE UNITED STATES.....

ITS PROBLEMS, AND THE PROBLEMS IT POSES TO ALL AMERICANS. THE LAST CITIZEN IS PRODUCED BY RADIO STATIC WBAA, PURDUE UNIVERSITY, UNDER A GRANT FROM THE EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION AND RADIO CENTER, IN COOPERATION WITH THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTERS. THE DISCUSSANTS ARE THE PRODUCER OF THE SERIES, E. W. RICHTER, AND DR. LOUIS SCHNEIDER, PRO-

FESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY AT PURDUE UNIVERSITY. TODAY'S PROGRAM, "THE CHANGING IMAGE", PART TWO. HERE NOW IMR. RICHTER.

RICHTER:

IN PART ONE OF OUR DISCUSSION OF THE CHANGING IMAGE WE CONCENTRATED ON THE EVOLVING CONCEPTIONS OF THE NEGRO IN THE UNITED STATES UNTIL THE TIME OF THE CIVIL MAR.

SCHNEIDER:

WE NOTED THAT WHEN THE NEGRO IS SUBJECTED TO HANDICAPPING CONDITIONS HE DOESN'T LOOK "VERY GOOD".
THUS, IF YOU HAVE STATE LAWS FORBIDDING HIM TO LEARN
READING AND WRITING YOU CAN'T EXPECT HIM TO PRODUCE
GREAT WORKS OF LITERATURE. WE MUST SAY THAT THE
IMAGE WE HAVE OF THE NEGRO HINGES TO A GREAT EXTENT
ON HIS APPEARANCE TO AFTER WE HAVE TREATED HIM A
CERTAIN WAY. AND AFTER WE HAVE TREATED HIM A CERTAIN
WAY, IF WE'RE UNEASY ABOUT IT, WE WANT TO JUSTIFY OUT
SELVES - AND THEN WE HAVE TO PROVE THAT HE WAS WORTHLESS ALL ALONG. JUST TO SHOW THAT WE WERE "RIGHT"
IN TREATING HIM THE WAY IN WHICH WE DID. THESE
THINGS ONE INEVITABLY FINDS WHEN ONE INQUIRES INTO
THE NATURE OF THE IMAGE HELD OF THE NEGRO UP UNTIL
THE CIVIL WAR, OR FOR THAT MATTER THEREAFTER.

RICHTER:

TODAY WE CONTINUE THE STORY OF THE IMAGE OF THE NEGRE IN AMERICA. WE WILL TOUCH, AT LEAST BRIEFLY, ON FOUR MAIN PERIODS SINCE THE CIVIL WAR, EACH OF WHICH HAD A PROFOUND INFLUENCE ON THE IMAGE OF THE NEGRO. THE FOUR PERIODS ARE: RECONSTRUCTION, THE PERIOD BETWEEN RECONSTRUCTION AND THE TURN OF THE CENTURY, THE PERIOD AROUND WORLD WAR I, AND THE PERIOD FROM 1930 TO THE PRESENT.

SCHNEIDER:

GOING DIRECTLY INTO THE RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD, IT MIGHT BE WELL TO NOTE THAT AT THIS TIMETHE GREAT MAJORITY OF NEGROES STILL LIVED IN THE SOUTH. "E MUST ALSO REMEMBER THAT, IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE CIVIL WAR, THE CONFEDERATE STATES WERE TREATED AS CONQUERED LANDS. FEDERAL TROOPS OCCUPEED THE CHIEF TOWNS, AND THE TROOPS INCLUDED NUMEROUS NEGROES. SOUTHERNERS WERE UNDOUBTEDLY RESENTFUL ABOUT THIS. PERHAPS RESENTFUL ISN'T A STRONG ENOUGH TERM. THE EVIDENCE SUGGESTS THAT MANY OF THEM WERE SIMPLY SHOCKED. AMONG THE NEGRO TROOPS WERE FORMER SERVITORS OF THE WHITES, AND THIS, UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES COULD ONLY INTENSIFY FEELINGS OF RESENTMENT AND SHOCK. WE HAVE TO REMEMBER, TOO, THAT THIS OCCURRED AT A TIME WHEN THE ARMY OF THE CONFEDERACY HAD BEEN DISBANDED AND IT WAS FORBIDDEN TO WEAR THE SOUTHERN UNIFORM. TO RE-SENTMENT AND SHOCK, WE SHOULD PROBABLY ADD FEAR -WIDESPREAD FEAR. FOR EXAMPLE, IN THE YEAR 1865, THAT

NEGROES WOULD STAGE A GENERAL UPRISING AT CHRISTMAS

RICHTER: Thus we can see how difficult it must have been for the Southerner to adjust to the New Situation. And it can easily be imagined that such a situation would create an atmosphere for the development of more unfavorable images of the Negro, for feelings against him must have run high.

SCHNEIDER: And feelings certainly help to mold images. InciDentally, I don't mean to imply that all Southerners
felt the same way about the Negro, or that various
feelings were evenly distributed in the various
layers of Southern Society. There are testimonies in
reconstruction documents that it was for the most
part the poor whites, and generally the So-Calle'
lower classes of Southern society, not the upper
classes, who had the largest antipathy to the Negro.

RICHTER: I SUPPOSE THAT THE POORWHITE'S ANTAGONISM WAS, AT
LEAST IN PART, LOU AROUSED BY THE FEAR OF COMPETITION
FROM THE NEWLY FREED SLAVES - COMPETITION IN AN OPEN
LABOR MARKET.

SCHMEIDER: There is certainly good ground for such a supposition Besides, poor whites had not only already experienced competition from the Negro, but had themselves often been despised by the Negroes, at the same time that they "depended" on the Negro to be "low man on the totem pole".

RICHTER: Well, HERE WE'VE ALREADY HIT ON TWO IMAGES: THE IMAGE AS A COMPETITIVE WORKER, AND THE IMAGE OF THE TOWN MAN ON THE TOTEM POLET.

SCHNEIDER: ALRIGHT. Now let's explore this matter of images further. I have here a volume that reproduces a letter from C. G. Memminger, the confederate Secretary of the Treasury, written to President Johnson on September 4, 1865. Memminger writes: "The country seems prepared to assign to this (Negro) race an inferior condition..." He writes of "the vices of an inferior race", and of "the natural indolence of an inferior race", and of "the natural indolence of the African race", and of "the necessity of training the inferior race". He does speak of the Possibility that Negroes will prove capable, as he puts it, of standing "upon the same platform with the white man", but in the context of his letter, it hardly seems that he takes this very seriously.

RICHTER: Would you say that this view of the Negro... This

IMAGE, IF YOU WISH, LOU, WAS THE PREVALENT ONE IN THE SOUTH AFTER THE CIVIL WAR?

SCHNETDER:

THIS KIND OF VIEW WAS CERTAINLY VERY WIDESPREAD. WE FIND GOVERNOR D. S. JALKER OF FLORIDA, IN AN INAUGURA ADDRESS OF DECEMBER 20, 1865, PRAISING THE NEGRO FOR HIS FAITHFULNESS TO SOUTHERN WHITES, IN WAR AND PEACE THE GOVERNOR NOTES THAT IT IS NOT THE NEGROES' FAULT THAT THEY ARE FREE. HE ADDS, "BUT THEY ARE FREE. THEY ARE NO LONGER OUR HAPPY CONTENTED SLAVES, WITH AN ABUNDANT SUPPLY OF FOOD AND CLOTTING FOR THEMSELVE AND FAMILIES. AND THE INTELLIGENCE OF A SUPERIOR RACE TO LOOK AHEAD AND MAKE ALL NECESSARY ARRANGEMENTS FOR THEIR COMFORT". THE IDYLLIC PICTURE OF THE NEGRO'S CONDITION UNDER SLAVERY IS, TO PUT IT AS MILDLY AS POSSIBLE, VERY DERATABLE, BUT THE IMPORTANT THING HER OF ASSUMPTION OF THE SUPERIOR INTELLIGENCE OF WHITES. IT SOUNDS AS IF THIS WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN A MATTER OF ARGUMENT FOR HIM AT ALL.

RICHTER:

IT STRIKES ME LOU, THAT THIS SORT OF AN IMAGE...THE ONE OBVIOUSLY HELD BY GOVERNOR WALKER...IS A SURVIVAL OF A PRE-CIVIL WAR IMAGE.

SCHNEIDER:

IT IS, AND THERE'S A POINT TO BE MADE HERE, THAT IS THAT THE PRE-CIVIL WAR IMAGES, PARTICULARLY THOSE ANTAGONISTIC TO THE NEGRO WERE RE-ENFORCED AND AUGMENTED BY RECONSTRUCTION CONDITIONS AND EXPERIENCE.

B. TC. TRUMAN, ATJUURNALIST WHO, AFTER THEREIVELWARLY REPORTED ON CONDITIONS IN THE SOUTH TO PRESIDENTIAL JOHNSON AND LTO CONGRESS WROTE SELVE.

VOICE:

"ALMOST THE ONLY KEY THAT FURNISHES A SATISFACTORY SOLUTION TO THE SOUTHERN QUESTION IN ITS RELATIONS TO THE NEGRO, THAT GIVES A REASONABLE EXPLANATION TO THE TREATMENT WHICH HE RECEIVES AND THE ESTIMATION IN WHICH HE IS HELD, IS FOUND IN THE FACT - TOO OFTEN FORGOTTEN IN CONSIDERING THIS MATTER - THAT THE PEOPLE FROM THEIR EARLIEST DAYS HAVE REGARDED SLAVERY AS HIS PROPER ESTATE...THAT A VAST MAJORITY OF THE SOUTHERN PEOPLE ENTERTAIN THIS OPINION, NO ONE WHO TRAVELS AMONG THEM FOR EIGHT MONTHS CAN DOUBT...

"HOLDING THAT THE NEGRO OCCUPIES A MIDDLE GROUND BETWEEN THE HUMAN RACE THE ANIMAL, THEY REGARD IT AS AFREAL MISFORTUNE TO HIM THAT HE SHOULD BE STRIPPED OF A PROTECTOR...THE P RSISTENCY AND HONESTY WITH WHICH MANY, EVEN OF THE GREATEST MEN OF THE SOUTH, HOLD TO THIS OPINION, IS ALMOST UNACCOUNTABLE TO A NORTHERN MAN, AND IS AN ELEMENT OF SUCH MAGNITUDE THAT IT CANNOT WELL BE OMITTED FROM...CONSIDERATION."

RICHTER:

IS THERE ANY EVIDENCE THAT WOULD INDICATE THAT THE BEHAVIOR OF THE NEWLY FREED SLAVES RE-ENFORCED THE TYPE OF THINKING WHICH WE'VE BEEN REVIEWING?

SCHNEIDER:

VITHOUT DOUBT, AFTER THE CIVIL MAR THERE WERE NEGROES WHO WERE AT TIMES CONSPICUOUSLY DISORDERLY, ENGAGED IN CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR, WERE KNOWN TO BE IMPROVIDENT, COULD SHOW OBSTINACY IN REFUSING TO WORK, WERE SPENDTHRIFT, AND COULD GIVE THEMSELVES AIRS THAT WOULD HAVE BEEN RIDICULOUS IN ANYONE. BEHAVIOR OF THIS KIND RE-ENFORCED NEGATIVE IMAGES OF THE NEGRO...EVEN THOUGH MHITES COULD AND DID ALSO WITNESS VERY DIFFERENT KINDS OF BEHAVIOR...BEHAVIOR WHICH HARDLY ANYONE COULD CRITICIZE.

RICHTER:

WHAT WE MIGHT CALL "SELECTIVE PERCEPTION"...SEEING WHAT WE WANT AND NEED TO SEE, OVERLOOKING OTHER THIN. THIS WOULD, NO DOUBT, HAVE HELPED TO ELIMINATE FROM THE PICTURE, THE, SHALL WE SAY, MORE COMMENDABLE KINDS OF BEHAVIOR.

SCHNEIDER:

AND I WOULD ADD THAT NEGROES, IN ANY CASE, WERE FREQUENTLY ENOUGH MISLED BY UNSCRUPULOUS WHITES, AND THAT WHITE SOUTHERNERS HAD, UNDER THE SLAVE SYSTEM, SCARCE LY PREPARED NEGROES FOR THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF FREEDOM. MOREOVER, NOT MANY THOUGHT TO CHECK THE WAYS OF NEGROES AGAINST THE WAYS SAY, OF WHATESOFF NEARLY SIMILAR LEVELS OF EDUCATION AND SIMILAR BACKGROUND; AND THE SOUTH HAD A HERITAGE OF THOUGHT ABOUT THE NEGRO THAT MADE IT ALL TOO READY NOT TO GIVE HIM THE BENEFIT OF ANY DOUBTS WHEN IT CAME TO ASSESSING HIS MORAL WORTH OR HIS ABILITY. THERE WAS AN ANCIENT AND POWERFUL INCLINATION TO ATTRIBUTE SHORTCOMINGS, NOT TO CIRCUMSTANCES, BUT TO NATIVE VICIOUSNESS OR INCAPACITY.

RICHTER:

THIS WOULD SEEM TO INDICATE THAT THE HITE SOUTHERNE NEVER GAVE UP THE BELIEFS ABOUT THE NEGRO, THE IMAGE. OF HIM, HELD PRIOR TO EMANCIPATION, AND THAT HE WOUL' IN TIME TRY TO REPLACE SLAVERY WITH SOME OTHER FORM OF INSTITUTIONALIZED DISCRIMINATION.

SCHNEIDER:

AND THAT IS EXACTLY WHAT HAPPENED. WITHIN ABOUT A DOZEN YEARS OF THE END OF RECONSTRUCTION IN 1877, THE SOUTH HAD BEGUN TO LAUNCH ITSELF ON A JIM CROW PROGRAM.

RICHTER:

THIS BRINGS US, THEN, TO THE SECOND PERIOD WE WANT TO DISCUSS TODAY - THE PERIOD BETWEEN RECONSTRUCTION AND THE TURN OF THE CENTURY.....THE PERIOD WHICH PROFESSOR RAYFORD LOGAN DESCRIBED AS THE NADIR.... THE LOW POINT, IN HIS BOOK, THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN LIAND THOUGHT. PROFESSOR LOGAN SPEAKS ABOUT THE REACTIOF HIMSELF AND HIS STUDENTS TO THE PORTRAYALS OF THE NEGRO THEY FOUND IN LEADING NATIONAL MAGAZINES IN THE POST RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD.

LOGAN:

BUT WHAT AMAZED OUR STUDENTS, AND I MIGHT SAY SHOCKED ME WAS THE EVIDENCE OF THE STEREOTYPES IN LEADING NATIONAL MAGAZINES. THEN ONE OF THE STUDENTS FIRST BEGAN TO REPORT ON THE ANECDOTES AND THE CARTOONS AND THE STORIES IN HARPER'S MAGAZINE, FRANKLY | DID NOT BELIEVE THAT STUDENT, AND HAD HER BRING COPIES OF HARPER'S MAGAZINE TO CLASS SO THAT WE COULD HAVE THIS VISUAL EVIDENCE. I THINK ONE MIGHT BE SAFE IN SAYING THAT THERE IS HARDLY A NEWSPAPER IN THE DEEP SOUTH TODAY WHICH LAMPOONED AND CARICATURED NEGROES AS DID HARPER'S MAGAZINE IN THAT PERIOD BETWEEN 1877 AND 1901 THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, A SCHOLARLY MAGAZINE, WAS NOT AS BAD AS HARPER'S, BUT THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW GENERALLY TOOK A POSITION IN SUPPORT OF THE SOUTH. MOST OF THE CONTRIBUTORS TO THE SHORT STORIES IN ATLANTIC MONTHLY, AND IN ITS VARIOUS DEPARTMENTS, WER SOUTHERNERS, AND THEY WROTE SOME OF THE MOST OUTLANDIS STORIES IN THE MOST ATROCIOUS DIALECT THAT ONE COULD POSSIBLY READ. SIMILAR ARTICLES LAMPOONING NEGROES APPEARED IN THESE NORTHERN NEWSPAPERS.

SCHNEIDER:

LET'S PUT BESIDE THIS STATEMENT OF PROFESSOR LOGAN'S SOME OF WHAT THE HISTORIAN, C. VANN YOODWARD TELLS US IN HIS VALUABLE LITTLE BOOK, THE STRANGE CAREER OF JIM CROW. HE POINTS OUT THAT AS FAR AS ACTION IN RELATION TO THE NEGRO IS CONCERNED IT TOOK THE SOUTH ABOUT A DOZEN YEARS AFTER 1877 TO GET LAUNCHED ON A JIM CROW PROGRAM. HE RECOUNTS HOW, AS RECENTLY AS 1885. ONE T. McCANTS STEWART, A NEGRO NEWSPAPER MAN TRAVELLING DOWN FROM BOSTON TO SOUTH CAROLINA, FOUND NO DISCRIMINATION DIRECTED AGAINST HIM ON RAILROAD TRAINS OR IN GENERAL WHEN HE WAS PREPARED TO DINE. HE WAS IMPRESSED. ACCORDING TO OUR HISTORIAN, WITH THE EASE AND FREQUENCY WITH WHICH WHITE PEOPLE ENTER INTO CONVERSATION WITH HIM FOR NO OTHER PURPOSE THAN TO PASS THE TIME OF DAY". HE IS REPORTED AS SAYING "I THINK THE WHITES OF THE SOUTH ARE REALLY LESS AFRAID TO HAVE CONTACT WITH COLORED PEOPLE THAN THE WHITES OF THE NORTH". IT WOULD BE FOOLISH TO ARGUE THAT THIS AND OTHER LINES OF TESTIMONY ESTABLISH IT AS A FACT THAT THE NEGRO ENJOYED ANYTHING LIKE FULL SOCIAL EQUALITY WITH WHITES IN THE SOUTH AT THIS TIME BUT THE IMPORTANT MATTER IS THAT WITHIN A SHORT TIME AFTER STEWART'S VISIT THE SOUTH BEGAN TO EXHIBIT AN EXTREME IN RACISM THAT HAD NOT BEEN MANIFEST BEFORE. ROUGHLY, ABOUT THE YEAR 1890 WHEN THE JIM CROW CAR MOVEMENT GATHERED FORCE. THE SUPREME COURT HAD ALREADY BEGUN TO WEAKEN IN ITS RESISTANCE TO THE ? RACIST OUTLOOK, AND, IN A CASE DECIDED IN 1896 ES-POUSED THE DOCTRINE THAT "LEGISLATION IS POWERLESS TO ERADICATE RACIAL INSTINCTS.

RICHTER: Does C. Vann Woodward have anything to say about IMAGES?

SCHNEIDER: YES, HE POINTS OUT THAT IN LITERARY MATERIALS SUCH
AS THE POPULAR NOVELS OF THE TIME THERE ALSO SEEMS TO
BE A RATHER SHARP SHIFT. BEFORE THE LAST DECADE OF
THE 19TH CENTURY, ACCORDING TO HIS REVIEW OF RELEVANT
MATERIAL, THE PICTURE OF THE N EGRO THAT EMERGES IS
ONE THAT INSPIRES A KIND OF RESPECT, SYMPATHY, AND
EVEN INDULGENT TENDERNESS AND AFFECTION.

RICHTER: HE REFERS, I SUPPOSE, TO THE UNCLE REMUS TALES AND SIMILAR WRITINGS?

 $^{
m Y}$ ES, THAT $^{
m t}$ S WHAT HE HAS IN MIND. BUT BY THE END OF SCHNEIDER: THE CENTURY THE PICTURE HAS DEFINITELY BEGUN TO CHANGE. ANGLO-SAXON SUPERIORITY DOCTRINES WERE FIND-ING MUCH FAVOR OUTSIDE THE SOUTH, IN CONNECTION WITH AMERICAN ENTERPRISES IN THE PACIFIC AND CARRIBBEAN. THESE DOCTRINES FITTED IN NEATLY WITH SOUTHERN CONVIC-TIONS ABOUT WHITE SUPERIORITY AND THE NEED FOR WHITE SUPREMACY. BY 1900, AND IN THE YEARS IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING, WELL KNOWN TITLES HAD BEGUN TO APPEAR, SUC-AS CHARLES CARROLL'S THE NEGRO, A BEAST, OR SPECIFI-CALLY FICTIONAL ITEMS SUCH AS THOMAS DIXON'S, THE LEOPARD'S SPOTS: A ROMANCE OF THE THITE MAN'S BURDEN-1865-1900, AND THE SAME WRITER'S THE CLANSMAN: 4N HISTORICAL ROMANCE OF THE KUKLUXKLAN, AND THE TRAITOR A STORY OF THE FALL OF THE INVISIBLE EMPIRE. AS ONE MIGHT GUESS FROM THE TITLES, THESE BOOKS, POPULAR AS THEY WERE, DID MUCH TO CREATE A DISTINCTLY UNFAVORABLE IMAGE OF THE NEGRO.

RICHTER: Would you say, Lou, that there was much change in this negative image of the Negro in the period following the turn of the century until, say...the outbreak of the First World War?

SCHNEIDER . WELL, ANTHROPOLOGISTS, LIKE FRANZ BOAZ, WERE IN THIS PERIOD GIVING LITTLE COMFORT TO RACIALIST THEORIES THAT WOULD IMPUTE INFERIORITY TO THE NEGRO. ON THE OTHER HAND, THERE WAS MUCH RATHER POPULAR MATERIAL WHICH WAS CLEARLY IN THE RACIALIST VEIN. I HAVE HERE A COPY OF A FAMOUS...OR PERHAPS A BETTER WORD IS NOTORIOUS...BOOK BY MADISON GRANT, ORIGINALLY PUBLISHED IN 1916, ENTITLED THE PASSING OF THE GREAT RACE WHICH MADE SOMETHING OF A STIR IN ITS DAY AND WHICH SCHOLARS, AT LEAST, HAVE NOT FORGOTTEN. GRANT WROTE IN AN EASY, FLUID STYLE THAT VERY PROBABLY PERSUADED MANY READERS WHO COULD NOT EVALUATE HIS ARGUMENTS PROPERLY. HERE ARE SOME OF HIS CHOICE WORDS ABOUT THE NEGRO: "MHENEVER THE INCENTIVE TO IMITATE THE DOMINANT RACE IS REMOVED, THE NEGRO OR, FOR THAT

MATTER, THE INDIAN, REVERTS SHORTLY TO HIS ANCESTRAL GRADE OF CULTURE. IN OTHER WORDS, IT IS THE INDIVIDUAL, AND NOT THE RACE THAT IS AFFECTED BY RELIGION, EDUCATION, AND EXAMPLE. NEGROES HAVE DEMONSTRATED THROUGHOUT RECORDED TIME THAT THEY ARE A STATIONARY SPECIES, AND THAT THEY DO NOT POSSESS THE POTENTIALITIES OF PROGRESS OR INITIATIVE FROM MITHIN. PROGRESS FROM SELF-IMPULSE MUST NOT BE CONFOUNDED WITH MIMICRY OR WITH PROGRESS IMPOSED FROM WITHOUT BY SOCIAL PRESSURE OR BY THE SLAVER'S LASH".

RICHTER: GR-NT'S IDEAS SEEM TO BE PRETTY MUCH IN LINE WITH THE PRO-SLAVERY THOUGHT WE TALKED ABOUT IN OUR LAST PRO-GRAM - THOUGHT THAT IMPUTED PROGRESS TO THE NEGRO UNDER THE SYSTEM OF SLAVERY.

SCHNEIDER: THAT'S ENTIRELY CORRECT. AND, AS IF TO CONFIRM WHAT YOU'VE JUST SAID, MY EYE FALLS ON ANOTHER PASSAGE WHICH IS MOST PE TINENT. GRANT SAYS, "THE 'NATIVE AME ICAN' HAS ALWAYS FOUND, AND FINDS NOW, IN THE BLACK MEN WILLING FOLLOWERS WHO ASK ONLY TO OBEY AND TO FURTHER THE IDEALS AND WISHES OF THE MASTER RACE, WITHOUT TRYING TO INJECT INTO THE BODY POLITIC THEIR OWN VIEWS, WHETHER RACIAL, RELIGIOUS, OR SOCIAL. NEGROES ARE NEVER SOCIALISTS OR LABOR UNIONISTS AND AS LONG AS THEY REMAIN IN THE SAME RELATION TO THE WHITES AS IN THE PAST, THE NEGROES WILL BE A VALUABLE ELEMENT IN THE COMMUNITY. BUT ONCE RAISED TO SOCIAL EQUALITY THEIR INFLUENCE WILL BE DESTRUCTIVE TO THEMSELVES AND TO THE WHITES".

RICHTER: IN OTHER WORDS, GRANT COMPLETELY IGNORES THE MANY SLAVE REVOLTS IN WHICH SLAVES SHOWED THAT THEY WERE ANYTHING BUT SATISFIED WITH THEIR SITUATION...HE IGNORES SUCH POLITICAL LEADERS AS STEPHEN DOUGLAS WHO WAS A POWER IN THE ABOLITIONIST MOVEMENT.

SCHNEIDER: Yes...IN FACT HE IGNORES AND PUSHES ASIDE WHATEVER MIGHT INTERFERE WITH A THESES THAT ACTUALLY AMOUNTS TO THAT GOOD OLD BROWIDE "THE NEGRO'S ALL RIGHT AS LONG AS HE'S KEPT IN HIS PLACE".

RICHTER: GRANT'S WORK THEN...HIS RACIST WRITINGS,...SEEM TO BE AN EXTENSION OF THE POPULAR LITERATURE PUBLISHED IN THE EARLY YEARS OF THE CENTURY.

SCHNEIDER: You can certainly look at it that way. At the same time we should note that Grant's work definitely had foundations in a <u>European</u> racialist thought, and in his advocating of the superiority of the so-called Nordic race, which he extolled as a race of "rulers, organizers, and aristocrats", Grant's thinking has

DEFINITE AFFINITIES WITH NAZI RACIALIST THEORIES. BUT NOW LET ME GIVE ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF A PIECE OF WORK PURPORTING TO SHOW NEGRO INFERIORITY...IN THIS CASE USING MATERIALS FROM VORLD VAR ONE ARMY INTELLIGENCE TESTS. THE WORK I HAVE IN MIND IS BY CARL C. BRIGHAM. AND IS ENTITLED, A STUDY OF AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE. IT APPEARED A FEW YEARS AFTER ORLD MAR ONE. THE OPINION THAT BRIGHAM HELD OF THE NEGRO IS SUGGESTED BY THIS SENTENCE, WHICH | PICK OUT FROM HIS CONCLUDING STATE-MENTS, "WE MUST FACE A POSSIBILITY OF RACIAL ADMIXTURE. HURE, THAT IS INFINITELY WORSE THAN THAT FACED BY ANY EUROPEAN COUNTRY TODAY, FOR WE ARE INCORPORATING THE NEGRO INTO OUR RACIAL STOCK, HILE ALL OF EUROPE IS COMPARATIVELY FREE OF THIS TAINT . IT'S ONLY FAIR FOR ME TO ADD THAT BRIGHAM COMPLETELY REPUDIATED HIS STUDY SOME YEARS LATER ! NEVERTHELESS . WORKS LIKE THOSE !! BY GRANT AND BRIGHAM HAD A CERTAIN DEFINITE VOGUE AROUND THE TIME OF YORLD VAR ONE AND ITS IMMEDIATE AFTERMATH, AND UNQUESTIONABLY HELPED TO SHAPE THE IMAG OF THE NEGRO.

RICHTER:

THIS CERTAINLY GIVES US AN IDEA OF RACIST THEORY OF THIS PERIOD UP TO THE END OF FORLD VAR ONE...AND EVEN TO A FEW YEARS BEYOND THAT. BUT WHAT EVENTS OF THIS PERIOD COULD WE DESCRIBE WHICH WOULD BEAR ON THE IMAGE OF THE NEGRO?

SCHNEIDER:

IT'S A VERY EVENTFUL PERIOD, AS WE ALL KNOW. PRECISELY WHAT EVENTS TO CHOOSE AS BEARING ON IMAGES OF THE NEGRO I'M NOT ENTIRELY SURE. LET ME TAKE A STAB AT IT HOWEVER. HISTORIANS EMPHASIZE THE BLOODY AFTERMATH OF VORLD WAR ONE FOR THE NEGROES. THE YEAR 1919 IS ESPECIALLY HIGHLIGHTED. IT WAS APPARENTLY QUITE A GRUESOME YEAR, ONE IN WHICH SOMETHING ON THE ORDER OF 25 RACE RIOTS TOOK PLACE. THERE WERE RIOTS IN WASHING-TON, D.C.; IN CHICAGO, ILLINOIS; IN OMAHA, NEGRASKA; IN LONGVIEW, TEXAS; IN KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE; IN ELAINE, ARKANSAS: AND IN OTHER PLACES. ONE HISTORIAN REMARKS "FROM JUNE, 1919, TO THE END OF THE YEAR, RACIAL FRICTION WAS MORE VIRULENT THAN IT HAD BEEN AT ANY TIME SINCE RECONSTRUCTION . JUST WHAT THE CAUSES OF THIS MAY HAVE BEEN ... OF THESE RACE RIOTS IN THIS TERRIBLE YEAR OF 1919, IT'S CERTAINLY NOT ENTIRELY EASY TO SAY. PERHAPS NEGROES SERVED AS TARGETS OF THE ACCUMULATED DISCOMFORT, WORRY, AND ANXIETY THAT HAD BEEN ABUILDING IN NUMEROUS WHITES BECAUSE OF THE WAR ITSELF. BUT IT IS THE CASE ALSO THAT VORLD WAR ONE HAD FOR THE FIRST TIME, BROUGHT NEGROES TO THE NORTH AS WELL AS TO URBAN AREAS IN THE SOUTH IN LARGE NUMBERS. NEGROES WERE MAKING, ONE MIGHT SAY, THEIR FIRST REAL THREAT OF ENTRES INTO MODERN INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISE, AND INTO THE GREAT CITIES THAT ARE THE

HOMES OF THAT ENTERPRISE. ACUTE PROBLEMS OF HOUSING, AND PROBLEMS ARISING FROM THE PROXIMITY OF SETTLEMENTS OF NEGROES TO WHITE RESIDENTS OF CITIES, CAME VERY MUCH TO THE FORE IN THIS PERIOD.

RICHTER:

TE MIGHT MAKE THE INFERENCE, THEN, FROM THESE VARIOUS THINGS, THAT THERE WAS, IN THE MINDS OF MANY AMERICANS, WHO WERE NOT WRITERS OR EVEN READERS OF BOOKS OF RACIALIST THEORY, A CONCEPTION OF THE NEGRO AS AN UNWANTED INTRUDER...A MENACE TO THE WAY OF LIFE OF THE WHITE MAN...AN ALIEN WHO THREATENED TO TAINT THE COMMUNITIES INTO WHICH HE CAME...AND AN ALL AROUND UNDESIRABLE.

SCHNEIDER:

YES, BUT WE HAVE TO REMEMBER, TOO, THAT THIS REPRESENT:
A DEVELOPMENT OF NORTHERN CONCEPTIONS, WHICH IS, AS IT
WERE, PILED ON THE TOP OF THE CONTINUING, GENERALLY
UNFAVORABLE IMAGE OF THE NEGRO ENTERTAINED IN THE WHIT
SOUTH.

RICHTER:

TELL, SO FAR IT SEEMS THAT WE HAVE A PRETTY UNRELIEVED NEGATIVE MAGE OF THE NEGRO IN THIS PERIOD FROM 1890 UNTIL AFTER JORLD VAR ONE. MHAT ABOUT FAVORABLE IMAGE OF THE NEGRO DURING THIS TIME?

SCHNFIDER .

WE OFTEN HAVE TO INFER THE EXISTENCE OF FAVORABLE IMAGES JUST AS, IN AT LEAST SOME CASES, WE HAD TO INFO THE EXISTENCE OF UNFAVORABLE ONES. ONE LINE OF EVI-DENCE THAT IS PERTINENT IS THE EVIDENCE THAT COMES FROM SUPREME COURT DECISIONS FROM ABOUT THE TIME OF WORLD WAR ONE ON. I THINK IT'S FAIR TO SAY THAT IN GENERAL THE COURT HAS PROVED FRIENDLY TO THE CAUSE OF THE NEGRO DURING THE PAST SEVERAL DECADES. BY THIS I MEAN SIMPLY THAT THE COURT HAS PUT ITSELF ON THE SIDE OF THE AMERICAN CREED, ON THE SIDE OF CIVIL LIBERTIES FOR THE NEGRO, AND HAS GIVEN DECISIONS THAT HAVE GENERALLY GONE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION. NOT ALL SUPREME COURT DECISIONS DURING THESE YEARS HAVE SEEMES SATISFACTORY TO THOSE FIGHTING THE BATTLE FOR NEGRO CIVIL RIGHTS, BUT IT CERTAINLY SEEMS FAIR TO STATE THAT BROADLY THE COURT HAS ACTED DURING THE PAST FEW DECADES IN ACCORDANCE WITH EQUALITARIAN DEMOCRATIC NOTIONS THAT IMPLY THE IMAGE OF A NEGRO AS A MAN WHO ! UNDER LAW, TO BE TREATED AS ANY OTHER MAN. FURTHER-MORE, WE CAN SAY THAT WHILE THE GENERAL IMAGE OF THE NEGRO WAS AN UNFAVORABLE ONE IN THIS PERIOD, MORE INFORMED GROUPS IN THE COUNTRY WERE BEGINNING TO DEVELOP, OR HAD ALL ALONG, A FAVORABLE IMAGE. FOR EXAMPLE, THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE WAS FORMED IN THIS PERIOD ... AND FORMED PRIMARILY BY WHITES. LIBERAL EDUCATORS, PUBLI-CISTS, AND OTHERS...LIKE JOHN DEWEY. WILLIAM DEAN

HOWELLS, AND OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD - WHO HELPED ORGANIZE THE NAACP - ENTERTAINED AN IMAGE OF THE NEGRO BASED UPON EQUALITARIAN AND DEMOCRATIC PRESUPPOSITIONS. IN THIS SENSE, THEIRS WAS A DECIDEDLY FAVORABLE IMAGE.

RICHTER:

WELL, AROUND THE TIME OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR, HOWEVER, WERE THESE FAVOR BLE VIEWS, AS SUGGESTED BY THE ACTIONS OF THE SUPREME COURT AND AS DEMONSTRATED BY THE GROUP OF WHITES YOU MENTIONED, ENOUGH TO CONVINCE THE NEGRO THAT HE COULD FEEL SECURE IN A GENERALLY APPROVING CLIMATE?

SCHNEIDER:

would think not. Remember the background of such things as the race riots of 1919. The general image was still far from a favorable one.

RICHTER:

BUT AT LEAST WE FIND IN THIS PERIOD THE ELEMENTS OF A MORE FAVORABLE IMAGE DEVELOPING.

SCHNEIDER:

YES. BUT LET ME REMIND YOU THAT THROUGHOUT THE HISTORY OF THE NEGRO IN THIS COUNTRY THERE HAD ALWAYS BEEN ELEMENTS OF A FAVORABLE IMAGE. JE MIGHT RECALL THE EARLY QUAKERS AND ABOLITIONISTS. AS WE FOUND EARLIER IN OUR CONVERSATION TODAY, THESE ELEMENTS WERE PRETTY WELL TONED DOWN AROUND THE TURN OF THE CENTURY . . . AND THE BEGINNINGS OF A NEW FAVORABLE IMAGE OFTEN HAVE TO BE INFERRED IN THE PERIOD BEFORE VORLD VAR ONE. BUT... IF WE MAY NOW MOVE FORWARD IN TIME, THE PERIOD OF THE THIRTIES PROVIDES THE BACKGROUND FOR A REAL CHANGE IN THE IMAGE OF THE NEGRO. DURING THE DEPRESSION THE NEGATIVE IMAGE WAS STILL MANIFEST IN THE ALL TOO FRE QJENT APPLICABILITY OF THE FAMILIAR PHRASE "LAST HIRED, FIRST FIRED . BUT THE DEPRESSION ALSO, IN PART AT LEAST, HAD WHAT WE MIGHT CALL A KIND OF "REDUCING EFFECT". IN MAKING TIMES TOUGH FOR SO MANY, BOTH NEGRO AND MHITE, IT HELPED TO STRESS THE COMMON HUMAN-ITY OF ALL WHO WERE IN THE SAME BOAT AND NEEDED AID AND ENCOURAGEMENT. I'M OLD ENOUGH TO REMEMBER VIVIDLY SCENES OF NEGROES AND WHITES SITTING TOGETHER IN THE SAME PUBLIC PLACES IN LARGE NORTHERN CITIES, WAITING TO APPLY FOR RELIEF. THE RISE OF FASCISM ABROAD, PARTI-CULARLY THE NAZI BRAND OF FASCISM. SHOWED AMERICANS SOMETHING OF THE CONSEQUENCES THAT MIGHT BE EXPECTED OF SYSTEMATICALLY PUTTING INTO PRACTICE IDEAS OF THE INFERIORITY AND WICKEDNESS OF VARIOUS MINORITIES. THERE WAS A STIR IN PEOPLE'S MINDS AND. I THINK IT LIKELY. AT LEAST SOME FAIRLY WIDESPREAD RECASTING OF THE IMAGE OF THE NEGRO. THE COLD VAR, FINALLY, WITH ITS VIRTUAL FORCING OF OUR ATTENTION ON THE INTER-RELATIONSHIPS OF PEOPLES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. HAS INEVITABLY MADE MANY OF US WHO PREVIOUSLY IGNORED SUCH

THINGS, AWARE OF THE ASPIRATIONS OF COLORED PEOPLE IN OTHER LANDS, AND OF THE WAY IN WHICH THEY MUST REGARD UNFAVORABLE IMAGES OF THE NEGRO ENTERTAINED IN THE U. S. AND THE DISCRIMINATION PRACTICED AGAINST HIM.

RICHTER:

TELL, I THINK THAT THE CHANGE IN IMAGE IN RECENT YEARS CAN BE FAIRLY CLEARLY SEEN IN MANY WAYS, LOU. MOTION PICTURES, FOR EXAMPLE, NO LONGER PRESENT NEGRO CARICATURES AS THEY ONCE DID. AND THERE HAS BEEN A RISING RESPECT FOR OUTSTANDING NEGROES 以此时代 REPREMENTED.

SCHNEIDER:

YES, BUT ONE MUST NOT MINIMIZE THE FACT THAT THE NEGATIVE IMAGES WE'VE BEEN TALKING ABOUT STILL EXERCISE A STRONG INFLUENCE ON MANY OF US.

RICHTER:

Negative images...And expectations based on these images. We do not expect to find the Negro, even today, in certain kinds of positions. The experience of E. Frederick Morrow, administrative assistant to President Eisenhower, with whom we spoke in Jashington would stem to bear this out.

MORROW:

THERE IS ALWAYS A GREAT SHOCK TO MOST SOUTHERNERS. OR EVEN TO MOST WHITES WHO COME TO THE WHITE HOUSE TO DO BUSINESS WITH ME. WE HAVE NOT PUBLICIZED THE FACT TOO MUCH THAT I AM HERE ON THE STAFF OF THE PRESIDENT. THE VERY FACT THAT MY RESPONSIBILITIES ARE SIMILAR TO THOSE OF ANY PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT. PEOPLE KNOW ME MERELY AS A NAME, AND WHEN THEY HAVE TO COME TO THE WHITE HOUSE TO TRANSACT BUSINESS, IT SOME-TIMES IS HUMOROUS, AND SOMETIMES ALMOST TRAGIC, WHEN THE SECRETARY OPENS THE DOOR AND THE PERSON IS ESCORTE IN TO SEE ME. THERE ARE TIMES WHEN WE HAVE HAD TO QUIET PEOPLE DOWN WITH A GLASS OF WATER, OR WITH AN ASPIRIN. OR BECAUSE THE SHOCK IS SO SEVERE. WHENEVER THESE PEOPLE HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO SEE ME IN ACTION. AND TO TALK TO ME AT LENGTH, THERE IS GENERALLY A FRIENDLIER FEELING WHEN THEY LEAVE THAN WHEN THEY ARRIVE.

SCHNEIDER:

(CHUCKLE) AND I IMAGINE THAT MR. MORROW'S EXPERIENCE IS BY NO MEANS UNIQUE. WE ARE NOW ENTERING A NEW ERA IN WHICH THE SITUATION OF THE NEGRO IN THE UNITED STATES IS DYNAMIC OR CHANGEFUL WITHIN AN UNPRECEDENTEDLY DYNAMIC WORLD. IT'S A VIRTUAL CERTAINTY THAT THE PRESENT TIME OF CHANGE WILL BE FOLLOWED BY EVEN MORE CHANGE. THE SHAPE OF THE NEGRO PROBLEM IS IN REVOLUTIONARY TRANSFORMATION. AND WITHOUT ANY QUESTION A SIGNIFICANT PART OF THE TRANSFORMATION WILL HAVE TO DO WITH VERY RADICAL CHANGES IN THE IMAGE OF THE NEGRO.

RICHTER:

DURING THE FIRST PROGRAMS OF OUR SERIES WE HAVE REPEATEDLY TOUCHED ON THE QUESTION OF "RACE"...we've SPOKEN OF RACIALIST THEORIES, AND HAVE, TO SOME EXTENDEVEN EXPLORED THESE THEORIES. NEXT WEEK DR. SCHNEIDER AND I WILL BE JOINED BY DR. ALLAN B. BURDICK, PROFESSO OF GENETICS AT PURDUE UNIVERSITY FOR A MORE COMPLETE EXPLORATION OF THE MATTER OF "RACE", AS WE CONTINUE TO DELVE INTO THE NATURE AND PROBLEMS OF THE NEGRO IN AMERICA, "THE LAST CITIZEN".

MUSIC: THEME UP AND UNDER

ANNCR:

YOU HAVE BEEN LISTENING TO DR. LOUIS SCHNEIDER, PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY AT PURDUE UNIVERSITY, AND THE PROGRAM'S PRODUCER-DIRECTOR, E. W. RICHTER, AS THEY'VE DISCUSSED "THE LAST CITIZEN". THIS PROGRAM WAS PRODUC AND RECORDED BY RADIO STATION WBAA, PURDUE UNIVERSITY, UNDER A GRANT FROM THE EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION AND RADIO CENTER, AND IS BEING DISTRIBUTED BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTERS.

MUSIC: THEME UP TO FINISH

ANNCR: THIS IS THE NAEB RADIO NETWORK.

THE LAST CITIZEN

PROGRAM #6

MAN 1: There are five races of man...the black race, the white race, the red race, the yellow race, and the brown race.

MAN 2: MANKIND IS ONE AND INDIVISIBLE.

MOMAN I: You only have to look at them to see that they're

VOMAN 2: There's no more difference in people because of the color of their skin than there is because of the color of their hair.

AN 3: THERE'S NEVER BEEN A NEGRO WHO ACCOMPLISHED ANYTHING THAT DIDN'T HAVE AT LEAST <u>SOME</u> WHITE BLOOD IN HIM.

MAN 4: ACCOMPLISHMENT IS TO A GREAT EXTENT A MATTER OF OPPOR

MAN I: | DON'T CARE WHAT YOU SAY, IF THERE'S A DROP OF NEGRO BLOOD IN HIM, HE'S A NEGRO.

MUSIC: STINGER

ANNCR:

AN ARGUMENT THAT HAS BEEN RAGING IN THIS COUNTRY FOR THREE HUNDRED YEARS OR MORE. LISTEN AS WE TRY TO RESOLVE THIS ARGUMENT AS WE CONTINUE DISCUSSING, "THE LAST CITIZEN".

MUSIC: STINGER

ANNCR:

THE LAST CITIZEN: THE NEGRO IN AMERICA. A SERIES
OF PROGRAMS DEVOTED TO THE EXTENSION OF OUR KNOWLEDGE
OF THE LARGEST MINORITY GROUP IN THE UNITED STATES,
ITS PROBLEMS, AND THE PROBLEMS IT POSES TO ALL AMERICANS. THE LAST CITIZEN IS PRODUCED BY RADIO STATION
WBAA, PURDUE UNIVERSITY, UNDER A GRANT FROM THE EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION AND RADIO CENTER, IN COOPERATION
WITH THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTERS. THE DISCUSSANTS ARE THE PRODUCER OF THE
SERIES, E. W. RICHTER, AND DR. LOUIS SCHNEIDER, PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY AT PURDUE UNIVERSITY. TODAY'S
PROGRAM, "COLOR AND RACE". HERE, NOW, IS MR. RICHTER.

RICHTER: During the last few programs of our series we have discussed prejudice, and the images of the Negro in the United States. A constantly recurring set of notions hinges on race concepts. The backbone of muc

PREJUDICE, AND THE BACKGROUND OF MANY OF THE IMAGES OF THE NEGRO WHICH WE DISCUSSED HAVE BEEN PROVIDED BY RACIST THEORIES....THEORIES WHICH ASSUME A DIS-TINCT RACIAL SEPARATION AMONG GROUPS OF MANKIND, AND. PERHAPS EVEN MORE IMPORTANT IN TERMS OF OUR DISCUSSION A NEGATIVE EVALUATION OF THE NON-WHITE SEGMENT OF OUR POPULATION. THE TERM NEGRO ITSELF APPEARS TO EVOKE AN IMMEDIATE IMAGE IN THE MINDS OF MANY OF US. TODAY WE WILL ATTEMPT TO ANSWER TWO QUESTIONS: WHAT IS "RACE"? AND, WHAT IS A NEGRO? TO ASSIST US WE HAVE WITH US TODAY DR. ALAN B. BURDICK, PROFESSOR OF GENETICS AT PURDUE UNIVERSITY, AS WELL AS OUR "REGULAF Dr. Louis Schneider. However, Before we turn to Dr. BURDICK, LET US FIRST EXPLORE, BRIEFLY, THE LAYMAN'S IDEA OF WHAT A NEGRO IS. FIRST OF ALL AS IT EXISTS IN THE UNITED STATES, AND THEN AS IT EXISTS IN ANOTHER AMERICAN NATION, A LARGE PROPORTION OF WHOSE CITIZENS ARE NEGROES.

SCHNEIDER: IN THE UNITED STATES, ESPECIALLY WHERE THOUGHT IS INFLUENCED BY SOUTHERN OUTLOOK, A PERSON IS CONSIDERED A NEGRO IF HE HAS ANY AFRICAN ANCESTRY. THIS MEANS THAT EVEN IF A MAN IS MOSTLY WHITE IN HIS GENETIC OR BIOLOGICAL HERITAGE, AMERICAN CONVENTION WILL TEND TO MARK HIM AS A NEGRO.

RICHTER: #ELL, WOULD IT BE SAFE TO SAY, LOU, THAT THE TERM "NEGRO" AS USED IN EVERYDAY CONVERSATION HAS A PRIMARILY SOCIAL SIGNIFIGANCE, AND DOES NOT REPRESENT SCIENTIFIC USAGE?

SCHNEIDER: YES, THAT WOULD BE VERY SAFE. TO EXEMPLIFY THE SOCIAL CHARACTER OF THE DEFINITION OF THE TERM "NEGRO" I WOULD LIKE TO TURN TO THE PERSON OF COLOR IN BRAZIL, WHERE WE FIND A VERY INTERESTING SITUATION IN REGARD TO RACE.

RICHTER: But wasn't the Negro broughtinto Brazil under differe circumstances than into North America?

SCHNEIDER: "JELL, HE TOO WAS BROUGHT IN AS A SLAVE TO WORK THE LAND. BUT THE <u>BACKGROUND</u> OF THE <u>RELATIONSHIP</u> OF THE NEGRO AND THE WHITE WAS CERTAINLY DIFFERENT. FOR ONE THING, THERE WAS THE LONG EXPERIENCE OF THE PEOPLE OF THE IBERIAN PENINSULA....SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.... WITH THE MOORISH CONQUERORS. THE MOORS WERE EVIDENTL DARK-SKINNED PEOPLE WHO HAD ACHIEVED A HIGH DEGREE OF CIVILIZATION. ALTHOUGH, AS CONQUERORS, THE MOORS MAY HAVE BEEN DISLIKED, STILL, THE PEOPLE OF PORTUGAL GAINED AN INEVITABLE RESPECT FOR THEM. AND BY THE

MEMORY OF THE PERSON OF COLOR AS A HUMAN BEING OF HIGH STATUS AND ATTAINMENT, RATHER THAN AS A SO-CALLED SAVAGE, REMAINED WITH THE PORTUGUESE.

RICHTER: Well, THIS IN DIRECT CONTRAST TO THE ASSUMPTION OF THE ENGLISH SPEAKING POPULATION OF NORTH AMERICA THAT COLOR IMPLIES INFERIORITY.

SCHNEIDER: PRECISELY. IT'S WORTH ADDING, ALSO, THAT PORTUGAL WAS A SMALL COUNTRY WHICH COULD NOT SEND MANY PEOPLE OF ITS OWN TO THE NEW COLONY OF BRAZIL. THOSE WHO DID COME INTERMINGLED FREELY WITH PERSONS OF COLOR.... NAMELY NEGROES AND INDIANS. ALSO CATHOLIC PRIESTS ENCOURAGED MARRIAGE WHERE INTERRACIAL UNIONS PREVAILED WITH THE LACK OF ANTIPATHY TO PEOPLE OF COLOR AND THE EARLY PREVALENCE OF UNIONS WITH THEM, THE GROUND WAS LAID FOR A DISTINCTIVELY DIFFERENT VIEW OF THE NEGRO FROM THAT PREVAILING IN UNITED STATES

RICHTER: BUT, DO YOU MEAN TO SAY THAT NO COLOR DISTINCTIONS EXIST TODAY IN BRAZIL?

SCHNEIDER: BRAZILIANS DO USE TERMS REFERRING TO COLOR SUCH AS B RANCO, PARDO, AND PRETO. BRANCO, OF COURSE, MEANING "WHITE", AND PARDO AND PRETO BEING ROUGHLY EQUIVALENT TO OUR MULATTO AND DARK. BUT WE KNOW FROM RESEARCH DONE BY SUCH MEN AS JONALD PIERSON THAT WHEN BRAZILIA' SAY BRANCO OR WHITE, THEY INTEND SUCH A TERM TO REFER PRIMARILY TO THE COLOR APPEARANCE OF A PERSON. IN OTHER WORDS, NO FINE, SUPPOSEDLY RACIAL, DISCRIMINATIOF "NEGRO" AS WE INTEND IT, IS INTENDED BY THEM.

RICHTER: You mean that IF A PERSON LOOKS WHITE, HE IS WHITE IN BRAZIL... REGARDLESS OF HIS ANCESTRY?

SCHNEIDER: YES, THAT'S THE POINT EXACTLY. Now, OF COURSE, COLORD DOES HAVE AN ASSOCIATION WITH STATUS OR FINCOME IN BRAZIL. HISTORICALLY, THE NEGRO IN BRAZIL, AS ECSEWHE SUFFERED UNDER CERTAIN DISADVANTAGES, SOME OF WHICH PREVAIL UNTIL THE PRESENT DAY. BUT THE PECULIAR SITUATION OF THE NEGRO IN BRAZIL TODAY, DESPITE VARIATIONS, IS INDICATED BY THE SAYING, "A RICH NEGRO IS A WHITE MAN AND A POOR WHITE MAN IS A NEGRO".

RICHTER: WELL, THUS, IT WOULD SEEM THAT THESE TERMS NO LONGER IMPLY RACE IN BRAZIL, BUT RATHER THE SOCIAL ECONOMIC LEVEL OR SOCIAL STRATIFICATION.

SCHNEIDER: THIS IS THE CASE. AND NOW WE COME A LITTLE CLOSER TO THE QUESTION THAT WAS RAISED A WHILE AGO ABOUT THE DEFINITION OF THE TERM "NEGRO". FOR THE BRAZILIANS,

THE NEGRO OR PRETO TENDS TO BE A PERSON OF COLOR WHO APPEARS TO BE ALSO OF LOW STATUS.

RICHTER: BUT LET'S GO BACK TO SOMETHING YOU SAID A MOMENT AGO.

THAT WAS THAT A RICH NEGRO IS WHITE, AND A POOR WHITE IS A NEGRO. THIS WOULD SEEM TO IMPLY THAT NO INDIVIDUAL AND HIS DESCENDANTS ARE RELEASED IN PERPETUITY TO BEING EITHER "NEGRO" OR "WHITE" BUT THAT THE CLASSIFIGATION DEPENDS SOLELY UPON ACHIEVEMENT.

SCHNEIDE: I THINK YOU EXAGGERATE SOMEWHAT. COLOR STILL IS SOME THING OF A HANDICAP, AND THINGS ARE NOT THE SAME IN ALL REGIONS OF BRAZIL. BUT THE POINT IS THAT SUFFICIENT ACHIEVEMENT CAN, IN GENERAL, GREATLY MODIFY THE FORCE OF THE COLOR HANDICAP. IN THE U.S., ON THE OTHER HAND, ONCE A NEGRO, ALWAYS A NEGRO...AT LEAST PRINCIPLE, ESPECIALLY IN SOUTHERN PRINCIPLE.

RICHTER: How about an example of this Brazilian principle of being able to rise above color?

SCHNEIDER: Well, one investigator mentions that he asked BrazilIAN White girls if they would be interested in Marry
ING MEN OF COLOR...GENERALLY, THE GIRLS RESPONDED
NEGATIVELY. BUT IF THE QUESTION TOOK THE FORM, "How
ABOUT DR. RAUL VARELLA?"....DR. VARELLA BEING, LET
US SAY, A FAMOUS PROFESSOR OF MEDICINE, WHOSE SKIN
WAS QUITE DARK....THEIR RESPONSE WAS IMMEDIATELY
REVISED.

RICHTER: For all practical purposes, then, despite his color, Dr. Varella, because of his achievements, was a "white man."

SCHNEIDER: YES...ALL OF WHICH ILLUSTRATES WHAT SOCIAL SCIENTISTS SOMETIMES CALL THE THOMAS THEORUM, WHICH STATES THAT IF MEN DEFINE A SITUATION AS REAL, IT IS REAL IN ITS CONSEQUENCES. THUS, IT DOES'NT MATTER AT ALL, IN ONSENSE, THAT MANY AMERICAN NEGROES ARE BIOLOGICALLY 7/8 OR MORE THAN 7/8 WHITE. THEY ARE STILL LIKELY TO BE DEFINED IN THE AMERICAN SOCIETY AS NEGROES, AND HENCE BE TREATED ACCORDINGLY. MANY OF THE SAME PEOPLE, DEFINED AS NEGRO IN OUR COUNTRY, WOULD UNDOUBTLY BE DEFINED AS WHITE, "BRANCO" IN BRAZIL. THUS, THE QUESTION OF WHO IS A "NEGRO" IN THIS WAY IS UNEQUIVOCALLY A SOCIAL MATTER, AND DEPENDS SOLELY ON SOCIAL DEFINITION.

RICHTER: Well, THIS SOCIAL DEFINITION OF "NEGRO" DEFINITELY PREVAILS, THEN IN THE UNITED STATES.

SCHNEIDER: Yes. As we pointed out, the Background of the Early

RELATIONSHIPS OF WHITES AND NEGROES IN BRAZIL WAS DIFFERENT FROM OURS. WE START WITH A DIFFERENT SET OF IMAGES OF THE NEGRO. EVEN TODAY WE ARE INCLINED TO DEFINE THE NEGRO NOT JUST IN TERMS OF SKIN COLOR, OR IN TERMS OF HIS OTHER MORE OR LEGS EASILY PERCEPT IBLE PHYSICAL ATRIBUTES, BUT IN TERMS OF ATTRIBUTES THAT HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH BIOLOGICAL CHARACTERIST: WE ARE INCLINED TO JUDGE THE NEGRO IN TERMS OF HIS BEHAVIOR. WE CREATE A SOCIAL SITUATION IN WHICH MANY NEGROES ARE VIRTUALLY FORCED TO BEHAVE IN WAYS WHICH WE JUDGE NEGATIVELY, THEN ATTRIBUTE THE BEHAVIOR TO THEIR BEING NEGROES AND FROM THIS, IN TURN, BUILD POPULAR CONCEPTION OF NEGROES AS A PRACETO

RICHTER:

WELL, THIS BRINGS US HEAD ON, THEN, TO ONE OF OUR TWO MAJOR QUESTIONS FOR TODAY: WHAT IS RACE? YOU JUST MENTIONED A POPULAR CONCEPTION OF RACE. A COM-CEPTION BASED ON OBSERVABLE DIFFERENCES, NOT ONLY PHYSICAL BUT BEHAVIORAL. WHAT WOULD YOU SAY WAS THE SCIENTIFIC CONCEPTION OF "RACE", LOU?

SCHNEIDER:

I WOULD SAY THAT WHEN THE TERM IS USED WITH SOME SCIENTIFIC CONSCIENCE IT SHOULD HAVE REFERENCE TO A BIOLOGICAL GROUPING OF HUMAN BEINGS. NOW, IN THE KIND SYSTEM OF CLASSIFICATION THAT BIOLOGISTS CALL TAXONOMY IT HAPPENS THAT ALL LIVING INSTANCES OF MAN WOULD BE CLASSIFIED AS HOMO-SAPIENS: GENUS: HOMO; SPECIES: SAPIENS. AND UNDER THIS SPECIES CLASSI-FICATION YOU WOULD FIND EXISTING RACES OF MANKIND -IF THERE ARE SUCH THINGS. I SAY "IF THERE ARE SUCH THINGS". LET ME SAY A WORD IN EXPLANATION. IT'S TRUE THE TERM "RACE" IS A VAGUE ONE-QUITERA VAQUE ONE. ONE CAN SPEAK OF RACES, ONE CAN SPEAK OF STOCK BREEDS - ONE CAN USE ANY NUMBER OF SUCH TERMS. BUT IN SO FAR AS WE USE THE TERM RACE WITH ANY DEGREE OF SCEENTIFIC ACCURACY WE SHOULD STRICTLY MEAN BY IT A BIOLOGICAL GROUPING, THERE HAVE BEEN CERTAIN CON-VENTIONAL CLASSIFICATIONS OF RACES AMONG ANTHROPOLO-GISTS. A FAVORITE ONE HAS BEEN THREEFOLD: NEGROUD, CAUCASOID, AND MONGOLOID. THIS IS USEABLE FOR CERTA PURPOSES. SCHOOL BOOKS OFTEN STELL TELL US THAT THE RACES OF MANKIND ARE WHITE, BLACK, YELLOW, RED AND BROWN - A CLASSIFICATION OF VERY DOUBTFUL VALUE EXCEPT PERHAPS FOR AESTHETIC PURPOSES, I COME BACK THE SAME THING. THE ESSENTIAL MATTER HERE IS THAT RACE IS SUPPOSED TO BE, AND IN STRICT USAGE IS, A BIOLOGICAL GROUPING.

RICHTER:

DR. BURDICK...NOW WE TURN TO YOU. DO YOU, A GENE-TICIST, HAVE ANYTHING FURTHER TO ADD TO DR. SCHMEIDS COMMENTS ... OR ANY DISAGREEMENTS?

BURDICK: | CAN'T OFFER ANY ESSENTIAL DISAGREEMENT WITH WHAT

LOU SCHNEIDER HAS SAID. A RACE IS A VERY ILL DEFINED ENTITY BIOLOGICALLY. FOR INSTANCE, I CAN JUST AS WE! TALK ABOUT THE "RACE" OF PEOPLE WHO LIVE ACROSS THE STREET FROM ME AS I CAN TALK ABOUT THE "RACE" OF PEOPLE WHO LIVE ACROSS THE OCEAN FROM ME - IF I WISH AND CHOOSE TO DO SO. A RACE, GENERALLY SPEAKING IS A 1 IS A CONCEPT THAT RELATES TO TWO GROUPS THAT ARE LESS DIFFERENT THAN SPECIES ARE. SPECIES ARE GROUPS THAT HAVE SOME BIOLOGICAL STATURE - THEY ARE USUALLY GROUPS THAT ARE NOT FREELY INTERBREEDING - THAT ARE DISTINGUISHABLE MORPHOLOGICALLY AND SEROLOGICALLY AND OTHER CRITERION. BUT RACES ARE NOT SO EASY TO DISTINGUISH, SOUNDLY, ON BIOLOGICAL GROUNDS.

RICHTER:

WELL, LEAVING THIS FOR THE MOMENT, LET US ACCEPT THA THERE ARE DIFFERENCES - VISIBLE DIFFERENCES - BETWEET VARIOUS GROUPS OF PEOPLE AROUND THE WORLD. HOW DID THESE DIFFERENCES COME ABOUT? IF WE SAY THAT WE ARE ALL OF ONE SPECIES THIS WOULD INDICATE, TO MY MIND AT LEAST, COMMON ANCESTRY. IS THIS TRUE?

BURDICK:

Well, yes, I think so. In fact, !'M sure of it. $\forall \epsilon$ could all, if we could trace our ancestry back to a COMMON SOURCE. THE PICTURE OF THIS 'S NOT EXACTLY CLEAR, BUT ! CAN TELL YOU SOMETHING THAT APPROACHED WHAT THE TRUE PICTURE MIGHT BE. PERHAPS AS MAMY AS 50.000 YEARS BEFORE THE BIRTH OF CHRIST THERE WAS AR ENTITY ON EARTH WHICH COULD HAVE BEEN CALLED HOMO-SAPIENS - COULD HAVE BEEN CALLED MAN. SO LET US SAY THAT MAN BEGAN DEING DISTINGUISHABLE BIOLOGICALLY ABOUT 50,000 YEARS AGO. THIS TOOK PLACE, NO DOUBT. SOMEPLACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST IN THE FERTILE CRESCENT FROM THIS POPULATION THEN OF PRIMITIVE MEN THERE EVOLVED - EVOLVED SUB-GROUPS AS A RESULT OF CERTAIN MIGRATIONS - MIGRATIONS TO MONGOLIA, TO EUROPE, TO AFRICA - HENCE TO AUSTRALIA, AND FROM MONGCLIA TO TE AMERICAN CONTINENTS. Now these groups - These sub-GROUPS OF MAN - BECAME DISTINGUISHABLE, ONE FROM ANOTHER, AS A RESULT OF THE ACCUMULATION OF DIFFERTM GENETIC CONDITIONS THAT HAPPENED TO EXIST IN THE OR! GINAL POPULATION. | CAN'T CALL THESE GROUPS DISTING RACES AT THE PRESENT TIME, BUT | CAN CONCEIVE OF A TIME WHEN MANY THOUSAND YEARS AGO WHEN THEY WERE... FOR EXAMPLE WHEN MONGOLO!DS HAD BEEN SEPARATED FROM THE NEGROIDS IN AFRICA FOR A PERIOD OF 25,000 YEARS THESE GROUPS PROBABLY COULD HAVE BEEN DISTING GUISHED RELATIVELY EASILY AS FAIRLY DISTINCT BIOLO-GICAL ENTITIES.

RICHTER:

YOU MEAN THAT INITIALLY THERE WAS NO DISTINCTION BETWEEN THESE TWO GROUPS, BUT THAT GEOGRAPHICAL SEPARATION OVER A LONG PERIOD OF TIME - CLIMATE AND

SO FORTH - MIGHT RESULT IN DIFFERENCES.

BURDICK:

YES. NATURAL SELECTION ACTED IN DIFFERENT WAYS IN MONGOLIA THAN IT DID IN THE TROPICAL FORESTS OF AFRICATION TO THAN IT DID IN THE TROPICAL FORESTS OF AFRICATION OF THAT IS DIFFERENT BIOTYPES - IN MONGOLIA THAN IT SELECTED IN AFRICA. SO AT THE TIME I THINK THESE MAY HAVE BEEN RELATIVELY CLEARLY DISTINCTLY DIFFERENT RACIAL GROUPS. BEYOND THIS, HOWEVE IF WE TAKE THE PERIOD FROM, SAY, 15,000 YEARS BEFORE THE BIRTH OF CHRIST UNTIL NOW, THE PREDOMINANT FORCE IN HUMAN DEVELOPMENT AND EVOLUTION HAS BEEN A MIXING OF THESE PREVIOUSLY ISOLATED GEOGRAPHICAL GROUPS... RACIAL MIXING, IF YOU WISH. SO THAT AT THE PRESENT TIME IT'S MUCH MORE DIFFICULT THAN IT PROBABLY WAS AT SOME DISTANT PAST TIME TO DISTINGUISH MOGOLOIDS FROM CAUCASOIDS, ABSOLUTELY, OR TO DISTINGUISH NEGROIDS FROM ALL OTHER GROUPS.

RICHTER:

You mean that there has been a shifting of population here and there, and intercourse among these groups which has led to mating, mixed offspring, and so forth. And that, in other words, you would go as far as to say there is no such thing as pure racial strain any more?

BURDICK:

YES, I WOULD. THE FORCES OF MIGRATION AND MIXING OF RACES GO ON CONCOMITANTLY WITH THE FORCES OF DIFFER-ENTIATION AND SEPARATION OF RACES. THERE ARE BOTH INFLUENCES EXISTING AT THE PRESENT AND ALWAYS HAVE EXISTED. FOR INSTANCE, YOU CAN SEE THE INFLUENCE IN SCANDINAVIANS - OF THE WONGOLOID INFLUENCE. THERE IS A CHARACTERISTIC OF THE MONGOLIANS THAT ALMOST DISTINGUISHES THEM FROM ALL OTHERS TO A LOT OF PEOPL. ANYWAY - THIS IS THE MONGOLIAN FOLD OF THE EYELID -THAT IS WHERE THE EYELID FALLS AND TOUCHES THE EYELAS THERE'S A FOLD IN THE EYELID. WELL, THE GENETIC SYS-TEM THAT CONTROLS THIS ALSO EXISTS AT THE PRESENT TIME IN SCANDINAVIANS - APPROXIMATELY 20-25% OF ALL SCANDINAVIANS HAVE THIS MONGOLOID FOLD. OTHER GROUPS IN EUROPE ALSO HAVE IT TO A LESSER EXTENT. THEY HAV NONE OF THE OTHER ATTUIBUTES OF MONGOLOID GROUP, BUT THEY DO HAVE THIS - ATTESTING TO SOME ADMIXTURE OF GENES FROM THE MONGOLIAN GROUP. WE CAN SEE INSTANCES ALL OVER EUROPE AND THROUGHOUT THE REST OF THE WORLD FOR INSTANCE, FOR THE NEGRO IT HAS BEEN SAID FAIRLY RELIABLE STATED THAT FEWER THAN 10% OF THE AMERICAN NEGROES CAN TRACE THEIR ANCESTRY EXCLUSIVELY TO AFRI SOURCES. CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN NEGROES ARE THE RESU OF A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF WHITE AND INDIAN, AND OTHER MIXTURES.

RICHTER:

HELL, THUS FAR WE'VE DISCOVERED THAT THE TERM RACE ITSELF IS A RELATIVELY VAGUE ONE, USED TO DESCRIBE GENETIC AND BIOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN GROUPS OF PEOPLE. LET'S NOW BE SPECIFIC. JR. BURDICK, WOULD YOU LIKE TO GIVE US YOUR IDEA OF WHAT CONSTITUTES A NEGRO?

BURDICK:

No, I WOULD NOT, BUT IF I AM ASKED TO DO SO, I CAN SAY LOOSELY THE NEARO IS DEFINED AS ONE OF BLACK SKIN WHOSE BACKGROUND GOES BACK TO SOME CONNECTION WITH SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.

RICHTER:

BUT YOU WOULD TACK ON THE CRITERION OF BLACK SKIN?

BURDICK:

YES, THEY'RE ALMOST ALL DARK-SKINNED AFRICAN NEGROES

RICHTER:

Now, could you distinguish Negroes from Whites gene-

BURDICK.

IF YOU GIVE ME ENOUGH CRITERIA. FOR INSTANCE BLOOD GROUP CRITERIA AND VARIOUS OTHER BIOLOGICAL CRITERIA GOOD SOUND GENETIC CRITERIA - I THINK I CAN DISTINCT IN PERHAPS 75% OF THE CASES - A NEGRO FROM A CAUCASIA I CAN'T ALWAYS BE COMPLETELY ACCURATE - I CAN'T DO ! WITH MORE THAN A 75% RELIABILITY I WOULD SAY - BUT I THINK IT CAN BE SHOWN THAT THEREIS A GENERAL SPECTRUM, LET US SAY, OF GENETIC CONDITIONS IN THE NEGRO SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT THAN IT IS IN THE WHITE PERSON.

RICHTER:

Would you like to describe some of these differences?

BURDICK:

WELL, THE NEGRO HAS A FAIRLY HIGH FREQUENCY OF SICK! CELL ANEMIA WHICH IS A GENETIC CONDITION WHICH HAS TO DO WITH PROPERTIES OF THE BLOOD. HE HAS A FAIRLY LO'PERCENTAGE, COMPARED WITH THE WHITES, OF RH NEGATIVE GENES. HE HAS AN ASTONISHINGLY HIGH FREQUENCY OF RH O GENES. HIS FREQUENCY FOR THE M BLOOD TYPE IS SLIGLY HIGHER THAN IT IS FOR THE WHITE. HIS FREQUENCY, FOR INSTANCE, OF AB BLOOD TYPES IS ABOUT 3 TIMES THA OF WHITE PEOPLE. HE IS LESS LIKELY TO BE GENETICALL' COLOR BLIND THAN A WHITE MAN IS. AND I COULD GO ON DOWN A LIST SUCH AS THIS TO SHOW THAT ACTUAL DIFFERENCES CAN BE ASCRIBED TO THESE TWO ETHNIC GROUPS.

SCHNEIDER:

SO AS I UNDERSTAND IT YOU WOULD CONTEND THAT THERE ARE DIFFERENCES WHEN YOU MAKE A K!ND OF EMPIRICAL STARTING POINT...YOU DISTINGUISH CERTAIN PEOPLE WHOS SKIN PIGMENTATION, LET'S SAY, IS RATHER DARKER THAN THAT OF OTHERS. YOU FIND FURTHER THAT WHEN YOU EXAMINE THE GENETIC TRAITS OF THESE PEOPLE YOU DO GET

THESE EMPIRICAL ASSOCIATIONS. AND THAT IS THE MEAN!
OF SAYING THAT NEGROES DIFFER FROM WHITES IN RESPECT

BURDICK: LET ME MAKE THE POINT THAT I CANNOT DISTINGUISH
NEGROES ON THE BASIS OF SKIN COLOR ALONE. BECAUSE
THERE ARE MANY OTHER GROUPS IN THE WORLD THAT ARE NO
NEGROES THAT HAVE ALMOST PRECISELY THE SAME SKIN
COLORATION.

RICHTER: Nould you like to identify these groups?

BURDICK: OH YES, THE MELANESIANS AND THE POSYNESIANS, AND THE AUSTRALOID ABORIGINES, FOR INSTANCE, HAVE THE SAME SKIN PIGMENTATION. SOMETIMES THEY'RE DARKER THAN NEGROES. MANY INDIANS, ASIAN INDIANS, HAVE ALMOST PRECISELY THE SAME SKIN PIGMENTATION, YET THEY ARE NOT BY ANY MEANS NEGROES.

WELL, WE'VE DISCOVERED THAT IT IS POSSIBLE FOR THE SCIENTIST TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN GROUPS OF PEOPLE WHOM WE MIGHT LOOSELY CALL "RACES" ON THE BASIS OF GENETIC-BIOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES. THE SCIENTIST DE4 SCRIBES THE NEGRO AS A BIOLOGICAL ENTITY. BUT RUDO WOULD THESE DIFFERENCES LEND ANY VALIDITY TO THE BELIEF THAT ONE RACE WAS IN ANY WAY SUPERIOR OR INFE TOR TO ANOTHER?

None WHATSOEVER. NOW, WE CAN LOOK AT THE NEGRO IN THIS SENSE. FOR INSTANCE, UNDOUBTEDLY, THE WHITE MAN AND THE NEGRO BOTH DESCENDED FROM APELIKE - NOT MIND YOU I DIDN'T SAY APE, BUT AN APELIKE - LET US SAY THAT BOTH MEN ANDAPES DESCENDED FROM A COMMON ANCESTOR. THIS ANCESTOR, CHANCES ARE, HAD THIN LIPS THEREFORE THE NEGRO WITH HIS THICK LIPS REPRESENTS A MORE ADVANCED TYPE OF EVOLUTION THAN THE WHITE MAN DOES. FURTHERMORE, THIS APELIKE CREATURE NO DOUBT HAD HAIR ALL OVER HIS BODY. AND THE HAIRY WHITE MAN THEREFORE REPRESENTS A LESS ADVANCED STAGE OF EVOLU-TION THAN THE NEGRO WHO HAS VERY LITTLE HAIR ON HIS BODY. So, IN LOOKING AT IT THIS WAY I CAN ACTUALLY MAKE MY STORY THAT THE NEGRO IS MORE ADVANCED EVO-LUTIONARILY THAN THE WHITE MAN IS. HOWEVER, I COULD DO THE SAME THING ON THE OTHER SIDE. I COULD DESCR CERTAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF THE WHITE MAN THAT ARE SEEMINGLY MORE ADVANCED, AT LEAST FAR MORE REMOVED FROM APELIKE CHAR CTERISTICS THAN THOSE POSSESSED BY THE NEGRO. MY POINT IS SIMPLY THIS - THAT IN TALKIN ABOUT MORE ADVANCED AND MORE PRIMITIVE TYPES OF PEOP WE'RE NOT TALKING ABOUT BIOLOGICALLY MORE ADVANCED O BIOLOGICALLY MORE PRIMITIVE PEOPLE - THE MORE AD-VANCENESS AND LESS ADVANCEDNESS HAS TO DO WITH CULT! STATUS OF THE PEOPLE ABOUT WHOM WE'RE TALKING.

RICHTER:

BURDICK:

RICHTER:

WELL, IN OUR LAST PROGRAM WE TOUCHED BRIEFLY ON THE MATTER OF INTELLIGENCE. WHETHER OR NOT INTELLIGENCE TESTS ARE ACCURATE AND REALLY MEASURE INTELLIGENCE, AND WHETHER THERE IS SUCH A THING AS A DIFFERENCE IN THE INTELLIGENCE, SAY, OF A WHITE AMERICAN, AND A DARK-SKINNED AMERICAN, OR NEGRO. WHAT WOULD YOU, AS A GENETICIST, SAY ABOUT THIS, DR. BURDICK?

BURDICK:

WELL, I'D LIKE TO SAY THIS. IF WE TAKE A GROUP OF AMERICAN NEGROES AND A GROUP OF AMERICAN WHITES PUT THEM IN THE SAME ROOM AND GIVE THEM AN INTELL-IGENCE TEST WE WILL IN FACT FIND A DIFFERENCE IN THEIR PERFORMANCE ON THIS INTELLIGENCE TEST. HOWEVER WHEN WE ATTEMPT TO ATTRIBUTE THIS DIFFERENCE TO EN-VIRONMENTAL OR EXPERIMENTAL CAUSES AND INNATE OR GENETIC CAUSES WE'RE INCAPABLE OF DOING THIS-THAT IS JUST BECAUSE ONE GROUP SCORES LESS ON AN INTELLIGENCE TEST THAN ANOTHER GROUP DOES NOT ENTITLE ME TO SAY THIS GROUP HAS LESS GENETIC INTELLECTUAL ABILITY THAN THE OTHER, BECAUSE INTELLIGENCE IS REMARKABLY MODIFIED BY THE ENVIRONMENT. FOR INSTANCE, WE CAN TAKE TWO ENTITIES WHO ARE GENETICALLY IDENTICAL, NAMELY IDENTICAL TWINS, AND IF WE REAR THESE TWINS APART UNDER DIFFERENT CONDITIONS AND AT SOME TIME LATER EXAMINE THEM FOR THEIR SO CALLED INATE INTELL-IGENCE WE'LL FIND THAT THE TEST TELLS US THAT THEIR INNATE INTELLIGENCE IS QUITE DIFFERENT WHEN AT THE SAME TIME WE KNOW THAT THEIR GENETIC MAKEUP IS IDENT-ICAL BUT THAT THEIR PERFORMANCE ON THIS TEST RESULTS ACTUALLY IN THEIR GIVING THE PICTURE THAT THEY ARE DIFFERENT. So I'M NOT OFFERING AN INDICTMENT OF INTELLIGENCE TESTS AS SUCH, BUT I THINK THEY'RE VERY GOOD AND VERY USEFUL THINGS. THEY DO MEASURE IN FACT WHAT SORT OF INTELLECTUAL ACTIVITY A PERSON CAN PERFORM BUT THEY DON'T BY ANY MEANS MEASURE GENETICAL INTELLIGENCE AS SUCH OR INHERENT DIFFERENCES IN INTELL IGENCE AS SUCH.

RICHTER:

BUT WILL YOU SAY THAT IF YOU TOOK A MEAN OF EACH GROUP YOU MIGHT FIND A DIFFERENCE?

BURDICK:

Well, IF I Make the supposition that I have a test that will measure genetical differences in intelligence...this is purely a hypothetical situation... but if I have such a test and I examine a group of Negroes and a group of whites, I have no doubt what-soever since their genetic backgroundis quite different...that these groups would show a difference in mean intelligence. I'm not sure, however, which group would have the higher intelligence. There is no indication, as far as I know, that would indicate which group has the greater intelligence.

RICHTER:

WELL, NOW, WHERE DOES ALL THIS LEAD US? WE'VE BEEN TALKING ABOUT RACE FOR QUITE A FEW MINUTES NOW. WE'VE DISCOVERED FURST OF ALL THAT RACE CAN BE DEFINED IN TWO WAYS. WE CAN DEFINE IT SOCIALLY, IN TERMS OF WHATPEOPLE AT LARGE WHO ARE NOT SCIENTISTS WOULD CALL A " RACE". THE GENERAL AMERICAN IDEA OF WHAT A NEGRO IS FALLS UNDER THIS DEFINITION...THIS SOCIAL DEFINI-TION ... THIS SOCIAL DEFINITION, IF YOU WISH. WE HAVE ANOTHER DEFINITION WHICH IS SCIENTIFIC AND BASED ON BIOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES ETWEEN GROUPS OF PEOPLE. FURTHERMORE, WE HAVE DISCOVERED THAT THERE ARE DIFF-ERENCES BETWEEN GROUPS OF PEOPLE. BIOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES BUT THAT THESE DIFFERENCES DO NOT NECESSARILY IMPLY BIOLOGICAL INFERIORITY OR SUPERIORITY FOR ANY ONE GROUP. IN EXAMINING THE QUESTION OF RACE IN TERMS OF INTELLIGENCE, FOR EXAMPLE, OR IN TERMS OF BEHAVIORAL PATTERNS, WE HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO FIND ANY SOLID GROUN ON WHICH TO BASE AN ASSUMPTION OF INFERIORITY OR SUPERIORITY OF ANY GROUP OF HUMAN BEINGS. HAVE I SUMMARIZED THIS ACCURATELY? DR. BURDICK.

BIRDOCL"

YES, I THINK SO. YOU'RE TALKING ABOUT THE BIOLOGICAL POTENTIAL OF THESE GROUPS. AND NOT WHAT THEY ARE IN FACT. NEGROES ARE IN FACT BROUGHT UP UNDER DIFFERENT CIRCUMSTANCES THAN WHITES. IN THE SOUTH FOR INSTANCE. AND WHEN WE GO TO MEASURE INTELLIGENCE OF NEGROES IN THE SOUTH, AND WHITE PEOPLE IN THE SOUTH, WE DO COME UP WITH DISTINCT DIFFERENCES IN THEIR INTELLECTUAL CAPACITY...PRESUMABLY. BUT THIS...MY POINT HAS SIMPLED BEEN THAT THIS DIFFERENCE IS A DIFFERENCE THAT MAY BE ALMOST ENTIRELY ASCRIBABLY OR ATTRIBUTABLE TO THE ENVIRONMENT AND NOT TO HEREDITARY DIFFERENCES IN THE GROUPS.

RICHTER:

Lou, WOULD YOU HAVE ANYTHING TO ADD?

SCHNEIDER:

YES. THERE ARE SOME CONTEMPORARY ANTHROPOLOGISTS AND SOCIALOGISTS WHO, WITH AN UNDERSTANDABLE BUT MISCUIDED ENTHUSIASM, CLAIM THAT THERE ARE NO DIFFERENCES AMONG RACES. IT WOULD BE DENYING THE PLAIN EVIDENCE OF ONE'S EYES FOR INSTANCE TO SAY THAT NEGROES HAVE THE SAME SKIN PIGMENTATION AS WHITES. BUT WHAT ARE DIFFERENCES EXTEND TO NATIVE HEREDITARY VARIATION IN INTELLIGENCE OR THE FACTORS THAT UNDER LIE IT, I SIMPLY DON'T KNOW. DR. BURIDCK THINKS THEY MAY WELL EXIST. I WON'T EVEN VENTURE THAT FAR. AND AS FOR THE PEOPLE WHO MULL OVER AND RE-ARRANGE INTELLIGENCE TEST RESULTS FOR NEGROES AND WHITES, WITHOUT SEEKING TO BELITTLE THEIR ENDEAVORS, I'M CONVINCED THEY RE-MAIN AS IGNORANT AS I AM.

RICHTE ?:

THANK YOU, LOU SCHNEIDER, THANK YOU, DR. BURDICK.

OUR GUESTS TODAY HAVE BEEN DR. ALAN B. BURDICK, PROFESSOR OF GENETICS AT PURDUE UNIVERSITY, AND DR. LOUIS SCHNEIDER, PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY AT PURDUE. BEFORE WE LEAVE, LET US GIVE THE LAST WORD TO REVERE WILLIAM BORDERS, MINISTER TO THE LARGEST NEGRO CONGREGATION IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA.

BORDERS:

If the white man is superior as some of them claim, he need not argue that. He need not broadcast that to the ends of the earth. Let him prove it by what he does, by the quality of his life, by his achievements, by his willingness to help others, by actual concrete implementation of his superiority, rather

THAN BY VERBAL STATEMENT THEREOF.

RICHTER: Next week our subject will be the Negro and the City So join us then as we discuss the Negro in America, "The Last Citizen".

MUSIC: THEME UP AND UNDER

ANNOR:

You have been listening to Dr. Louis Schneider,
Professor of Sociology at Purdue University, and the
Program's producer-director, E. W. Richter as they'e
Discussed "The Last Citizen". This program was t
Produced and recorded by WBAA, Purdue University;
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Radio Center, and is being distributed by the Nation
Association of Educational Broadcasters.

MUSIC: THEME UP TO FINISH

ANNCR: THIS IS THE NAEB RADIO NETWORK.

THE LAST CITIZEN

PROGRAM #7
"THE SECOND SCHOOLHOUSE"
PART I

FRAZIER: I HAVE TAUGHT ALL KINDS OF STUDENTS. I HAVE TAUGHT WHITE STUDENTS WHO WERE STUPID, I HAVE TAUGHT WHITE STUDENTS WHO WERE VERY BRILLIANT. I HAVE TAUGHT NEGRO STUDENTS WHO WERE STUPID, AND NEGRO STUDENTS WHO WERE

BRILLIANT.

HOLLAND: OUR NATION NEEDS, BEYOND THE SHADOW OF DOUBT, ALL THE QUALIFIED MANPOWER IN ALL OF THE VOCATIONAL CLASSIFI-

CLARK: THERE ARE SOME NEGROES WHO CAN MAKE THEIR MOST CREATIVE CONTRIBUTION TO SOCIETY BY VOCATIONAL EDUCATION—BECOMING SKILLED IN CERTAIN TRADES. THERE ARE OTHER NEGROES WHO CAN MAKE A MORE CONSTRUCTIVE CONTRIBUTION TO SOCIETY BY THE HIGHEST TYPE OF ACADEMIC EDUCATION.

MUSIC: STINGER

ANNOR:

These have been a few excerpts from three of many discussions which have been, and are continuing to rage over the question of the education of the Negro... discussions having their root, in many instances, in the presence in many of our communities of a Second Schoolhouse....The colored schoolhouse. Join us in taking a look at the education of Negroes, as we continue to discuss, "The Last Citizen."

MUSIC: STINGER

ANNOR:

THE LAST CITIZEN: THE NEGRO IN AMERICA. A SERIES OF PROGRAMS DEVOTED TO THE EXTENSION OF OUR KNOWLEDGE OF THE LARGEST MINORITY GROUP IN THE UNITED STATES, ITS PROBLEMS, AND THE PROBLEMS IT POSES TO ALL AMERICANS. THE LAST CITIZEN IS PRODUCED BY RADIO STATION WBAA, PURDUE UNIVERSITY, UNDER A GRANT FROM THE EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION AND RADIO CENTER, IN COOPERATION WITH THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTERS. THE DISCUSSANTS ARE THE PRODUCER OF THE SERIES, E. W. RICHTER, AND DR. LOUIS SCHNEIDER, PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY AT PURDUE UNIVERSITY. TODAY'S PROGRAM: "THE SECOND SCHOOLHOUSE," PART 1. HERE NOW, IS MR. RICHTER.

RICHTER: Today we want to begin an exploration of the problems is the field of education which the Negro faces. Those problems are, of course, numerous, and we must be prepared to find here also the usual interaction of

VARIOUS ELEMENTS IN THE SITUATION. PERHAPS, PARTICULARLY IN A FIELD LIKE EDUCATION, IT'S USEFUL TO LOOK INTO HISTORICAL BACKGROUNDS. BUT BEFORE WE DO, WE CAN'T HELP THINKING OF SOME THINGS THAT WE SHOULD EXPERTANCE ANYONE WOULD THINK OF SPONTANEOUSLY. THE QUESTION OF THE NEGRO'S ABILITY INEVITABLY RAISES ITSELF AGAIN AND AGAIN IN THESE PROGRAMS, AND I THINK IT MIGHT BE INSTRUCTIVE FOR US TO LISTEN TO ONE MORE RELEVANT OPINION....WHICH WE SHALL DO IN A MOMENT.

SCHNEIDER: I THINK ALSO, MALT, IT MIGHT BE A GOOD IDEA FOR US TO HAVE AT LEAST SOME BRIEF STATEMENT OF HOW THE NEGRO'S BACKGROUND TODAY BEARS ON THE EFFORTS OF OTHERS TO HELP HIM IN HIS EDUCATIONAL ENDEAVORS AND ASPIRATIONS.

RICHTER: GOOD ENOUGH. LET'S BEGIN THEN, WITH A GENERAL STATEME BY DR. E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER, WELL KNOWN SOCIOLOGIST, AND CHAIRMAN OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AT HOWARD UNIVERSITY, WHO GIVES US THE FOLLOWING REFLECTIONS ON ABILITY AND ASPIRATION.

VHEN IT COMES TO DIFFERENCES THAT HAVE ANY RACIAL MEAN-ING, I WOULD SAY THIS: FIRST THING I WANT TO SAY WHEN YOU'RE TALKING ABOUT THE RELATIVE ABILITY OF NIGROES AND WHITES IN THE UNITED STATES, YOU MUST ALWAYS REMEM-BER THAT WHEN YOU ARE SPEAKING OF AN AMERICAN NEGRO YOU ARE SPEAKING OF A PERSON OF MIXED ANCESTRY. PROBABLY 90% OF THE SO-CALLED NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES HAVE WHITE ANCESTORS AS WELL AS NEGRO ANCESTORS AND 27% OF THE NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES HAVE INDIAN ANCESTRY. SO THE SO-CALLED NEGRO IN THE UNITED STATES IS, AS HAS BEEN CALLED, A SOCIOLOGICAL NEGRO AND NOT A BIOLOGICAL NEGRO. AND WHEN YOU ARE MAKING MEASURE-MENTS OF ABILITIES, YOU'VE GOT TO THERE'S NO WAY OF UNSCRAMBLING THE EGGS THAT ARE ALREADY SCRAMBLED. To SAY WHICH PART OF HIM IS NEGRO, AND WHICH PART IS HIT. AND WHICH PART IS INDIAN FOR SOME OF THEM. I HAVE TAUGHT ALL KINDS OF STUDENTS. THAVE TAUGHT WHITE STU-DENTS WHO WERE STUPID, I HAVE TAUGHT WHITE STUDENTS WHO WERE VERY BRILLIANT, I HAVE TAUGHT NEGRO STUDENTS WHO WERE STUPID, AND NEGRO STUDENTS WHO WERE BRILLIANT. BUT ASIDE FROM SUCH SUPERFICIAL AND OBVIOUS DIFFERENCE", I THINK THAT THIS IS VERY IMPORTANT IN DISCUSSING THE EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO. ONE MUST TAKE INTO CONSIDERA-TION THE LEVEL OF ASPIRATION. WHAT DOES ONE ASPIRE TO MAY I TAKE MYSELF AS AN EXAMPLE? WELL, I CAN REMEMBER THAT WHEN I FINISHED 8TH GRADE | WAS SENT TO A NEGRO 1. OUR COMMUNITY WHO WAS THOUGHT TO BE A GENIUS....OF COURSE I'VE LEARNED LATER HE WASN'T....TO ADVISE ME WHETHER I SHOULD TAKE LATIN OR GERMAN WHEN I ENTERED HIGH SCHOOL. AND HE SAID, "SINCE YOU WILL NEVER GO TO COLLEGE YOU SHOULD TAKE GERMAN. AND I WENT TO HIGH SCHOOL AND TOOK GERMAN. VELL, AFTER I GOT INTO HIGH SCHOOL I FOUND OUT THAT MANY OF MY TEACHERS DIDN'T HAVE ANYMORE BRAINS THAN I HAD, AND DIDN'T HAVE ANY

FRAZIER:

MORE MONEY, AND THEY HAD WORKED THEIR WAY THROUGH COLLEGE, SO | ASKED MYSELF, MINHO SAID | WOULD NEVER GO TO COLLEGE?" SO I SWITCHED AND TOOK LATIN.... PREPARED MYSELF FOR COLLEGE. AND WHEN I FINISHED COLLEGE, | THOUGHT | WOULD PROBABLY NOT GO ANY FURTHER. BUT THEN ASPIRED TO GET A MASTER'S DEGREE, AND THEN AFTER | GOT A MASTER'S DEGREE | ASPIRED TO GET A Doctor's Degree, and by that time I had set No LIMITA-TIONS TO WHAT I SHOULD ASPIRE TO. WELL, I THINK I'M TYPICAL OF MANY NEGROES. AND THEIR ATTITUDES TOWARDS EDUCATION. THE LEVEL OF ASPIRATION IS AN IMPORTANT THING. I KNOW WHEN I WAS A CHILD VERY FEW NEGROES EVER ASPIRED TO GET A DOCTOR'S DEGREE. NOW MANY NEGROES ASPIRE TO GET THE PH.D. AND MANY OF THEM HAVE SECURED THE PH.D. NOT THAT I HAVE ANY ILLUSIONS ABOUT THE PH.D. I DON'T MEAN TO SAY THAT. THAT IS AN IMPORTANT THING.

Now LET US TAKE A QUESTION LIKE...A PROBLEM LIKE THIS, RATHER. IN NORTHERN SCHOOLS FOR A LONG TIME THEY USED TO HAVE COUNSELLORS WHO TOLD NEGRO CHILDREN THAT THERE WAS NO USE IN ASPIRING TO CERTAIN JOBS ... AS AN ARCHITECT, OR ENGINEER, AND SO FORTH. AND NEGRO CHILDREN JUST WOULDN'T ASPIRE TO BE ARCHITECT OR ENGINEERS. BUT WITH THE OPENING UP OF NEW OPPORTUN-ITIES | DON'T THINK ANY VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE PERSON OR COUNSELLOR WOULD DARE TELL A NEGRO CHILD TODAY NOT TO ASPIRE TO BE AN ARCHITECT OR NOT TO ASPIRE TO BE AN ENGINEER. I'M ONLY CITING THIS TO SHOW YOU THAT THE NEGRO'S ASPIRATIONS IN EDUCATION, OR WHAT EDUCATION MEANS TO HIM, IS NOT A CONSTANT FACTOR, OR AN ISOLATED FACTOR, IT'S A FUNCTION OF HIS SOCIAL POSITION, IT'S A FUNCTION OF HIS SOCIAL WORLD, IT IS RELATED TO WHAT IT MEANS TO HIM. AND SO WHETHER NEGROES ASPIRE EDUC-ATIONALLY, OR WHETHER THEY SHOW THEMSELVES BRIGHT OR STUPID....THEY ARE ALL TIED UP WITH THE SOCIAL MATRIX 13 WHICH HE SPENDS THE MOST SIGNIFICANT PART OF HIS LIVING.

RICHTER:

DR. FRAZ IER THUS STÆ SSES THE SOCIAL WORLD OF THE NEGRO....THE MATRIX IN WHICH HE MUST OPERATE. THERE SEEMS TO BE A LARGE SENSITIVITY TODAY TO THE BACKGROUND FROM WHICH THE NEGRO COMES. A GOOD MANY EDUCATORS APPEAR TO BE SO SHARPLY AWARE OF THE NEED FOR KNOWLEDGE OF THE SOCIAL MATRIX. ON THIS POINT, I THINK IT'S WORTH OUR WHILE TO LISTEN TO SOME WORDS BY DR. JEROME B. HOLLAND, PRESIDENT OF DELAWARE STATE COLLEGE.... WORDS EXCERPTED FROM AN ADDRESS TO THE NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE CONVENTION IN OMAHA, NEBRASKA, AND RECORDE IN THE FALL OF 1958.

HOLLAND:

IT HAS BEEN DISCOVERED THAT THE TEACHING PROFESSION .
USUALLY DRAWS ITS RECRUITS FROM OUR MIDDLE CLASS STRATU
OF SOCIETY. FORTUNATELY OR UNFORTUNATELY THERE ARE
MANY MORE WOMEN THAM MALE TEACHERS. MANY OF THESE

TEACHERS HAVE BEEN REARED IN A SHELTERED AND PROTECTED SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT, AND EXPERIENCE GREAT DIFFICULTY IN ADJUSTING TO THE ENVIRONMENTAL CUSTOMS AND PATTERNS OF BEHAVIOR OF THOSE YOUNG PEOPLE FROM A LOWER ECONOMIC SOCIAL STATUS. THE DIFFICULTY IS MULTIPLIED WHEN PLACED IN AN ETHNIC FRAME OF REFERENCE WITH ALL OF THE STEREOTYPES AND GENERALIZATIONS RACIALLY DEFINED. WITH THIS TYPE OF BACKGROUND THE GUIDANCE COUNSELLOR MAY BE FORCEDTO RE-EDUCATE HIMSELF, OR HERSELF, IN TERMS OF HIS OWN INDIVIDUAL ATTITUDES AND IDEAS. THE NEGRO POPULATION IS BECOMING AN URBAN POPULATION GROUP. THE GROWTH IS SUBURBAN W RD TREND OF A LARGE SEGMENT OF THE NON-NEGRO POPULATION. THIS HAS MEANT THAT THE NEGRO FAMILY HAS MOVED INTO AREAS THAT WERE IN THE PROCESS OF DETERIORATING, AND HAS BEEN MAINLY CIRCUMSCRIBED TO A LIMITED HOUSING MARKET. THERE NATURALLY FOLLOWED THE USUAL SOCIAL-PATHOLOGICAL PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH THIS TYPE OF LIVING AREA. VITHOUT ENTERING INTO MORE DETAILS OF THIS ENVIRONMENTAL CONDITION WITH WHICH YOU ARE PERHAPS FAMILIAR, | MENTION THIS SITUATION BECAUSE OF THE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL PROBLEMS RESULTING WHICH HAVE AN EFFECT UPON THE VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE PROGRAM. THIS MEANS THAT CHILDREN COMING FROM SUCH AN ENVIRONMENT MAY HAVE A LIMITED ECONOMIC HORIZON WHICH AFFECTS THEIR OVERALL SCHOOL SITUATION. TO BE ABLE TO CONSTRUCTIVELY WORK WITH THIS TYPE OF STUDENT IT IS ONLY POSSIBLE THROUGH A COMPLETE UNDERSTANDING AND RECOGNITION OF HIS GENERAL ENVIRONMENT. A GUIDANCE COUNSELLOR MUST BE MUST BE EVER CAUTIOUS OR MAKING GENERALIZATIONS, WHICH IS EASILY DONE, BECAUSE OF THE LIMITED HORIZONS OF SOME STUDENTS. THAT IS WHY | STRESS THE INDIVIDUAL CONCEPT OF PROGRAMMING BECAUSE EACH STUDENT DESERVES THE OPPORTUNITY TO DEVELOP TO THE LIMIT OF HIS ABILITY. OUR NATION NEEDS. BEYOND THE SHADOW OF DOUBT, ALL THE QUALIFIED MANPOWER IN ALL OF THE VOCATIONAL CLASSIFI-CATIONS. TO UTILIZE THE EASY METHOD OF GROUP GENERAL-IZATIONS COULD BE A SERIOUS THREAT TO OUR FUTURE GROWTH AND SECURITY A COMPLETE LACK OF UPHOLDING THE MORAL RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE GUIDANCE PROGRAM, AND MAY RUIN THE POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION WHICH MANY YOUNG PEOPLE COULD MAKE IN OUR SOCIETY.

RICHTER:

DR. FRAZIER THUS GIVES US A SOCIOLOGISTS OPINION THAT THE NEGRO APPEARS TO SHAPE UP JUST AS WELL AS THE WHITE MAN IN TERMS OF ABILITY. AND HE REFLECTS THAT NEGRO ASPIRATIONS ARE IN PROCESS OF CHANGE.....THE NEGRO LIVES IN A SOCIAL WORLD THAT IS ITSELF CHANGING, AND HIS ASPIRATIONS ARE CORRESPONDINGLY AFFECTED. HE AIMS TODAY AT EDUCATIONAL GOALS THAT HE MOULD NOT HAVE DREAMT OF A GENERATION AGO. AND DR. HOLLAND GIVES US A CLEAR IDEA OF THE NEED FOR SHEER CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE NEGRO'S BACKGROUND ON THE PART OF THOSE WHO WANT TO DEAL

WITH HIM EFFECTIVELY IN THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS. THE THINGS DOCTORS FRAZIER AND HOLLAND POINT TO SUGGEST MUCH THAT HAS FIGURED PROMINENTLY IN THE HISTORY OF THE EDUCATION OF THE NEGROIN AMERICA. CAN WE BEGIN TO GET A BIT OF AN OVERVIEW OF THAT HISTORY, LOU?

SCHNEIDER: A BRIEF EXPLORATION OF THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF
NEGRO EDUCATION IS FURNISHED IN A SLIM VOLUME BY
DOROTHY TIRLING AND DONALD GROSS, PUBLISHED IN 1958,
ENTITLED TENDER WARRIORS FROM WHICH 11 D LIKE US TO HEAR
A PASSAGE.

"...ONE-HUNDRED AND TWENTY YEARS BEFORE THE EMANCIPATI WOMAN 1: . PROCLAMATION, THE COLONY OF GEORGIA DECREED PENALTIES FOR ANYONE TWHO SHOULD TEACH OR CAUSE SLAVES TO BE TAUGHT, OR EMPLOY THEM IN ANY MANNER OF WRITING WHATSO-EVER. WISSISSIPPI DECLARED IT UNLAWFUL FOR NEGROES TO ASSEMBLE FOR EDUCATIONAL PURPOSES. SOUTH CAROLINA FORDADE THE EMPLOYMENT OF NEGROES AS CLERKS OR SALESMEN AND GEORGIA IMPOSED A FINE ON THOSE EMPLOYING SLAVES IN SETTING UP TYPE OR OTHER LABOR ABOUT A PRINTING SHO REQUIRING A KNOWLEDGE OF READING OR WRITING. BY 1832, A VIRGIN : LEGISLATOR WAS ABLE TO SAY, "WE HAVE AS FAR AS POSSIBLE CLOSED EVERY AVENUE BY WHICH LIGHT MAY ENTER THEIR MINDS. IF WE COULD BUT EXTINGUISH THE CAPACITY TO SEE THE LIGHT, OUR WORK WOULD BE . COMPLETED. THEY WOULD BE ON THE LEVEL WITH THE BEASTS OF THE FIELD. DESPITE THE VIGILANCE OF THE MASTERS, HOWEVER, MANY SLAVES MANAGED TO ACQUIRE SOME EDUCATION. THEY CRAWLED UNDER THE PLAZZAS OF THE BIG HOUSE TO EAVESDROP AS MASTER READ THE NEWSPAPER ALOUD TO MISTRESS. THEY 'BORROWED' YOUNG MASTER'S SPELLER AND YOUNG MISTRESS'S SLATE AND HELD SECRET SCHOOLS IN THE PINEY WOODS OR IN THEIR CHEERLESS CABINS. WHEN ASKED HOW HE LEARNED TO READ. ONE SLAVE REPLIED. 'ISTOLE IT IN THE NIGHT, I SIR. "NOT ALL OF THE NEGRO'S EDUCATION WAS STOLEN. NOW AND THEN HUMAN FEELINGS BROKE THROUGH THE PROHIBITION AND A KIND-HEARTED MISTRESS OR A RELIGIOUS-MINDED MASTER PERMITTED A FEW PRIVILEGED SLAVES TO LEARN ONE OR MORE OF THE THREE R'S. MORE OFTEN IT WAS THE PLANTERS' CHILDREN, PLAYING SCHOOL, WHO TAUGHT THEIR COLORED COMPANIONS THE RUDIMENTS OF ARITHMETIC AND THEIR ABC's."

RICHTER: The Appears then, that despite the laws, some slaves did manage to acquire at least the rudiments of education. Do we, however, have any information about Negro Literacy about this time of the Civil Jar?

SCHNEIDER: Yes. AND OF COURSE THE DATA DO SHOW THAT THE VAST

majority of Negroes were illiterate. The census of 1870 showed that more than 80% were illiterate.

RICHTER:

BACK TO THE LAWS AGAIN, LOU. WHAT WERE THE MOTIVES OF THE SLAVE-HOLDING WHITES IN WITHHOLDING EDUCATION FROM THE NEGROES?

SCHNEIDER:

I DON'T DOUBT THAT ONE THING OF IMPORTANCE WAS THAT MANY WHITE SLAVE HOLDERS FELT THAT EDUCATION WOULD BE A USELESS DISTRACTION. MOST NEGROES HAD TO DO HARD WORK, AND CERTAINLY THE AVERAGE PLANTER COULDN'T HAVE FELT THAT A SLAVE'S ECONOMIC VALUE OR CAPACITY TO LABOR WOULD BE ENHANCED BY A KNOWLEDGE OF THE THREE R'S EVEN THOUGH THERE WERE SOME SKILLED ARTISANS WHOSE WORK MIGHT WELL HAVE BEEN IMPROVED BY AT LEAST A RUDIMENTARY EDUCATION. HOWEVER, IN THIS MATTER OF MOTIVES, ALSO, THE SOUTHERNER'S CLEARLY HAD CERTAIN FEARS. IN HIS VOLUME ON THE EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO IN THE AMERICAN SOCIAL ORDER. HORACE MANN BOND QUOTES SENATOR IVERSON OF GEORGIA FROM THE CONGRESSIONAL GLOBE OF APRIL 12, 1860. AS FOLLOWS: "THERE IS NO LAW IN ANY SOUTHERN STATE, SO FAR AS I KNOW, THAT PROHIBITS THE EDUCATION OF BLACK CHILDREN. EVEN THE SLAVES IN THE STATE OF GEORGIA ARE EDUCATED TO THAT EXTENT. THEY ARE NOT PERMITTED TO BE TAUGHT TO WRITE, BECAUSE THAT WOULD BE DANGEROUS, CERTAINLY; FOR THEY MIGHT THEN CARRY ON A CORRESPONDENCE AND COMBINE; BUT THEY ARE PERMITTED TO BE TAUGHT TO READ AND THEY GO TO OUR SUNDAY SCHOOLS." I WOULD SUGGEST THAT SENATOR IVERSON WAS BEING A LITTLE OVERENTHUSIASTIC. WE KNOW THAT AT THE TIME THE SENATOR SPOKE IN THIS WAY, GEORGIA HAD EXPLICIT LAWS FORBIDDING NEGROES TO WRITE OR READ. BUT THE SENATOR'S STATEMENT IS INTERESTING BECAUSE OF THE FEAR IT REVEALS THAT WRITING MIGHT LEAD TO CORRESPONDENCE AND VIA CORRE-SPONDENCE TO CONSPIRACY AND REVOLT. IN FACT, IF THE SENATOR HAD BEEN ABLE TO FORSEE THAT ABOLITIONIST LITERATURE WOULD BE READ BY NEGROES ME'ELY CAPABLE OF READING, HE MIGHT HAVE BEEN FAR LESS INCLINED TO TAKE THE INDULGENT ATTITUDE HE APPARENTLY DID TOWARD TEACHING NEGROES HOW TO READ. THE INSURRECTIONIST, NAT TURNER, HAD BEEN TAUGHT TO READ BY HIS MASTER. AND OF COURSE, SINCE TURNER'S ACTIVITY BECAME A SYMBOLIC FOCUS OF Southern fears of REBELLION, THIS LITERACY OF HIS GREATLY STRENGTHENED THE HAND OF THOSE WHO WANTED LAWS AGAINST THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES.

RICHTER:

WE HAVE, THEN, THE NOTIONS THAT EDUCATION WOULD BE A USELESS DISTRACTION FOR SLAVES ENGAGED IN HARD LABOR WHO HAD NO NEED OF ANY SUCH THING. WE ALSO HAVE THE MOTIVE OF KEEPING THE SLAVES ILLITERATE AND IGNORANT TO PREVENT THEM FROM COMBINING WITH ONE ANOTHER AND FROM BEING EXPOSED TO POSSIBLE INFLAMMATORY IDEAS.

SCHNEIDER:

I THINK WE CAN ADD, AT LEAST, ONE MORE THING....NAMELY, THAT THE WHITES SIMPLY, IN MANY CASES, WANTED TO MAIN—TAIN FEELINGS OF SUPERIORITY OVER THE NEGROES AND THEREBY HAD A KIND OF VESTED INTEREST IN KEEPING THEM ILLITERATE AND IGNORANT SO THAT THE WHITE EGO COULD BE ENHANCED AND THE WHITE SOUTHERNER CONTINUE TO BE AMUSED AT NEGROES WHO MANGLED THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND WERE ABYSMALLY IGNORANT OF RUDIMENTARY FACTS.

RICHTER:

THAT SEEMS TO GIVE US A FAIRLY GOOD OUTLINE OF MOTIVATIONS. ASIDE FROM MOTIVATIONS WE'VE MENTIONED THE LAWS PERHAPS IT WOULDN'T HURT TO BE A DIT MORE DETAILED ABOUT THEM.

SCHNEIDER:

FROM A STANDARD SOURCE ON THE EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO IN AMERICA I TAKE A FEW PERTINENT FACTS. IN GEORGIA, WHICH WE'VE ALREADY MENTIONED, A LAW OF 1770 PROHIBITED TEACHING THE SLAVES READING AND WRITING UNDER A PENALTY OF TWENTY POUNDS STERLING FOR VIOLATION. TWO GENERA-TIONS LATER, ANOTHER LAW OF THE SAME STATE PROVIDED A FINE OR A WHIPPING FOR TEACHING SLAVES READING OR WRITING; AND IN 1853, A THIRD LAW REPEATED THE STIPU-LATIONS OF THE PREVIOUS ONES. THE CODE OF VIRGINIA. IN 1849, MADE EVERY GATHERING OF NEGROES WITH THE OBJECT OF INSTRUCTION IN READING OR WRITING AN UNLAWFUL ASSEMBLY. PUNISHMENT IN CASE OF VIOLATIONS WAS WHIP-PING FOR NEGROES, AND A JAIL SENTENCE AND A FINE OF FIVE HUNDRED DOLLARS FOR WHITES. IN NORTH CAROLINA THERE WERE SIMILAR PROVISIONS FOR WHITE AND NEGROES WHO MIGHT COLLABORATE IN SEEKING TO MAKE THE NEGRO LITERATE. SOUTH CAROLINA HAD A LAW ON THE MATTER PASSE IN 1740: FINES, IMPRISONMENT AND WHIPPING WERE THE PUNISHMENTS FOR ACTIVITY THAT ASSEMBLED SLAVES, FREE NEGROES, AND PERSONS OF COLOR, FOR THE OBJECT OF INSTRUCTION. "IN A CONFINED OR SECRET PLACE." SIMILAR LAWS WERE ON THE BOOKS OF THE STATES OF LOUISIANA AND ALABAMA. HORACE MANN BOND MAKES THE INEVITABLE COMMENT THAT "IT IS CLEAR THAT THESE LAWS WERE INTENDED TO KEEP THE SOCIAL ORDER IN A STATE OF REST, " AND HE ADDS "JEFFERSON DAVIS REFLECTED CLEARLY THE ATTITUDE OF THE ANTE-BELLUM PERIOD TOWARD THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES WHEN HE SAID THAT THERE WAS NO OBJECTION TO TEACHING THEM ANYTHING THAT DID NOT COME IN CONFLICT WITH THE CHERISHED INSTITUTIONS OF THE OLD SOUTH.

RICHTER:

SO WE CAN SAY THAT THE SOUTH WAS "BUYING" SOME OF ITS OWN LATER PROBLEMS. HAD THERE BEEN LESS ILLITERACY AMONG NEGROES, THE RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD MIGHT HAVE BEEN A LOT EASIER IN A NUMBER OF WAYS FOR BOTH THITES AND NEGROES. A BIT IRONIC, ISN'T IT?

SCHNEIDER:

Yes, and, once the Civil War was over, the education of the Negro <u>even</u> when it was forthrightly accepted as desirable in principle, presented numerous problems.

ASIDE FROM THE COMPLICATED POLITICS OF THE MATTER THERE WERE INEVITABLY MOTIVES IN OPERATION THAT TODAY MUST STRIKE US AS CURIOUS OR EVEN QUAINT. FOR EXAMPLE THERE WAS THE PASSION MANIFESTED BY SOME NEGROES TO LEARN GREEK AND LATIN....ACCOMPLISHMENT IN THE CLASSICA TONGUES WAS SOUGHT AS A SYMBOL OF THE STATUS OF THE EDUCATED GENTLEMAN. THIS IS, OF COURSE, IN SOME WAYS VERY UNDERSTANDABLE. THERE ARE ALSO UNAVOIDABLY SEEMED THREATENING TO NUMEROUS SOUTHERNERS, SINCE IT SUGGESTED NOT THE KIND OF EDUCATION THAT WOULD MAKE THE NEGRO A BETTER SERVANT OR LABORER, BUT THE KIND THAT WOULD TEACH HIM TO RISE OUT OF HIS "PLACE". YET, THE IDEAL OF THE EDUCATED GENTLEMAN WAS HARDLY ONE THAT WAS INVARIABLY HELPFUL TO THE NEGRO IN HIS URGENT NEED FOR KNOWING AND COMING TO TERMS WITH THE REALITIES OF THE RECONSTRUCTION AND POST-RECONSTRUCTION WORLD. I THINK MEN LIKE BOOKER T. JASHINGTON SAW THIS QUITE CLEARLY. WASHINGTON WANTED TO GIVE THE NEGRO WHAT HE THOUGHT OF AS BASIC INDUSTRIAL SKILLS. BUT "ASHINGTON'S MOTIVES WERE ALSO MIXED. IN PART HIS INSISTENCE ON TRADE AND INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION VERY PROBABLY REPRESENTED A CON-CILIATORY ATTITUDE TOWARD WHITES WHO WOULD HAVE REACTE! QUITE ADVERSELY TO A FORTHRIGHT ATTEMPT TO GIVE THE NEGRO A BROAD, LIBERAL EDUCATION WHICH MIGHT POINT TO STATUS LIKE THAT OF THE WHITE MAN. THERE WAS ALSO, HO EVER, SOMETHING OF A REALISTIC MOTIVE IN WASHINGTON'S EFFORTS. THE NEGRO HAD TO FACE CERTAIN PRIMARY NECESS-ITIES IN THE WAY OF MAKING A LIVING. THIS HASN'T SPARED WASHINGTON THE CRITICISM OF MANY NEGROES AND WHITES, WHO FEEL THAT HE WAS ALTOGETHER TOO CONCILIA-TORY. NOR DOES IT CHANGE THE FACT THAT MUCH NEGRO "INDUSTRIAL" EDUCATION WAS HOPELESSLY OUT OF DATE AT THE VERY TIME WHEN IT WAS BEING GIVEN.

RICHTER:

WELL, YOU'VE JUST SAID, LOU, THAT WHATEVER HIS MOTIVES BOOKER T. MASHINGTON WAS CRITICIZED BY MANY. DR. KENNETH CLARK, PROFESSOR OF PSYCHOLOGY AT CITY COLLEGE OF NEW YORK, WHO HAS DONE A GREAT DEAL OF RESEARCH ON THE PSYCHOLOGY OF NEGROES....IS ONE OF THOSE WHO IS VERY CRITICAL OF MASHINGTON. HERE ARE A FEW OF HIS COMMENTS AS WE RECORDED THEM IN HIS NEW YORK OFFICE.

CLARK:

Well, AS FAR AS I CAN SEE, THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES IS DEVELOPING NOW IN TERMS OF THE EDUCATION OF EVERYBODY.

I THINK THAT THE MANOR MISTAKE MADE BY BOOKER T.

WASHINGTON WAS THAT HE FELT THAT THERE WAS SOME KIND OF SPECIAL OR PECULIAR EDUCATION WHICH SHOULD BE PROVIDED FOR NEGROES, AND, IN A SENSE, I DELIEVE THAT BOOKER T. WASHINGTON WAS A PERSONIFICATION OF THE ULTIMATE IN SEGREGATED EDUCATION. ON THE OTHER HAND, DUBOIS IN HIS INSISTENCE THAT NEGROES SHOULD BE EDUCATED IN THE SAME ACADEMIC, INTELLECTUAL WAYS THAT

PROBLEM THAT WAS JUST THE OBVERSE OF DU BOIS'S. ! THINK THE MATTER IS MORE INTELLIGENTLY DISCUSSED IN TERMS OF EDUCATING "WHO" WHAT PERSON. THERE ARE SOME NEGROES WHO CAN MAKE THEIR MOST CREATIVE CONTRI-BUTION TO SOCIETY BY VOCATIONAL EDUCATION--BECOMING SKILLED IN CERTAIN TRADES. THERE ARE OTHER WHO CAN MAKE A MORE CONSTRUCTIVE CONTRIBUTION TO SOCIETY BY THE HIGHEST TYPE OF ACADEMIC EDUCATION. | DON'T THINK THAT THIS IS AN EITHER-OR, AND TO DISCUSS IT IN TERMS HEITHER-OR" FOR NEGROES IN GENERAL IS TO FALL INTO THE TRAP OF THINKING OF INDIVIDUALS IN TERMS OF THEIR RACE RATHER THAN IN TERMS OF EACH INDIVIDUAL'S OWN PARTI-CULAR TALENT OR ABILITY OR INTELLIGENCE LEVEL. Now. IT MAY BE THAT THIS IS A LITTLE UNFAIR ABOUT DU BOIS. PROBABLY DU BOIS WAS NOT TALKING ABOUT NEGROES IN GENERAL. HE WAS TALKING ABOUT WHAT HE CALLED THE TALENTED TENTH. HE HAS BEEN CRITICEZED IN TERMS OF SNOBBERY. IF I WERE TO BE REQUIRED TO TAKE MY CHOICE. I WOULD CERTAINLY IDENTIFY MYSELF MORE WITH THE DU 201. TYPE OF THINKING THAN THE BOOKER T. WASHINGTON TYPE OF THINKING WHICH | THOUGHT WAS A SERIOUS SOCIAL MISTAKE, BECAUSE HE MADE SEGREGATION PALATABLE AND ACCEPTABLE. HE SALVED THE CONSCIENCE OF THE WHITE South. AND MY PERSONAL FEELING IS THAT THE DU BOIS... THE BOOKER T. WASHINGTON TYPE OF THINKING SET BACK THE PROGRESS OF THE NEGRO CONSIDERABLY. AND WE'RE JUST NOW ATTEMPTING TOUNDO THE HARM WHICH | BELIEVE HIS TYPE OF THINKING AND THOSE WHO THINK LIKE HIM HAVE DONE.

RICHTER:

THAT WAS DR. KENNETH CLARK, PSYCHOLOGIST AT CITY COLLETOF NEW YORK. WE'VE COVERED A CERTAIN NUMBER OF THING REGARDING THE HISTORY OF NEGRO EDUCATION IN AMERICA, AND WE'VE BRIEFLY REVIEWED SOME PERTINENT ATTITUDES IN THE FIELD. WE HAVEN'T BEEN EXHAUSTIVE, BECAUSE, WELL, THAT'S ALWAYS IMPOSSIBLE. HOWEVER, LOU, AREN'T SOME OF THE SOCIAL PROCESSES TO WHICH WE'VE CALLED ATTENTIONS BEFORE HEAVILY INVOLVED IN THIS FIELD OF EDUCATION?

SCHNEIDER:

I WOULD SURELY SAY SO, VALT. BY WAY OF EXAMPLE, WE'VE SPODEN ABOUT THE SELF-FULFILLING PROPHECY, AND THIS WORKS IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION AS IN OTHERS. GIVE THE NEGRO AN INFERIOR EDUCATION, SUCH AS HE STILL SO FREQUENTLY GETS, AND OF COURSE, YOU GET A NOT PARTICULARLY WELL-EDUCATED MAN. THE WHOLE PROCESS OFTEN SHAPES UP IN THIS WAY: YOU MAY START WITH THE PREMISE THAT THE NEGRO CAN'T DO MUCH OF ANYTHING REQUIRING REAL ABILITY. THEN YOU GIVE HIM A LOW LEVEL EDUCATION THAT YOU FEEL CORRESPONDS WITH HIS LACK OF GENUINE TALENT. HE ENDS UP A POORLY EDUCATED MAN WHO IN FACT DOES NOT SHOW HIGH LEVEL ATTAINMENTS, AND THEN YOU SAY, "YOU SE

I TOLD YOU ALL ALONG." THIS LOADING OF THE DICE IS SO CRUDE AND OBVIOUS AS TO REQUIRE NO FURTHER COMMENT.... AGAIN, WE'VE MENTIONED THE SPIRAL EFFECT. IN THE SYSTE OF MOVING ELEMENTS THAT CONSTITUTE THE SIGNIFICANT THINGS IN THE SITUATION OF THE NEGRO IN AMERICA, EDUCATIONIS SURELY ONE OF THE MOST SIGNIFICANT. IMPROVE THE NEGRO'S EDUCATION, AND YOU IMPROVE HIS HEALTH CHANCE THROUGH THE KNOWLEDGE AND SOPHISTICATION THAT HE ACQUIRES. YOU ALSO MAY IMPROVE HIS OCCUPATIONAL CHANCES. YOU IMPROVE WHAT ONE MIGHT CALL HIS "SELF-PRESENTATION, FOR HE IS LIKELY, WITH AN ADEQUATE EDUCATION, TO SPEAK MORE FLUENTLY AND ACCURATELY, TO MAKE ALL AROUND WHAT WE CALL COLLOQUIALLY A "BETTER" IMPRESSION. AND SO YOU MAY STRATEGICALLY TOUCH OFF AN UPWARD SPIRAL

RICHTER:

IT SEEMS TO ME THAT AN UPWARD SPIRAL SUCH AS YOU DESCRIBE, LOU, IS IN FACT IN PROCESS. I HAVE HEARD IT REPEATEDLY STATED ON GOOD AUTHORITY THAT THE PRESENT DEMAND FOR EDUCATED AND WELL-TRAINED NEGROES IS CONSIDERABLE AND THAT THIS IS ALREADY HAVING ITS EFFECT FOR NEGRO WELFARE IN A GENERAL WAY.

SCHNEIDER:

THERE ARE GROUNDS FOR SOME OPTIMISM, I THINK, BUT LET'S NOT FORGET A POINT THAT WE MADE IN AN EARLEER PROGRAM WITH RESPECT TO SPIRAL PHENOMENA. IT'S STILL POSSIBLE FOR DISGRUNTLED WHITES WITNESSING WHAT IS HAPPENING TO TRY TO ARREST THE FORCES IN MOTION, AS IT WERE, FROM THE OUTSIDE. I MAKE NO PESSIMISTIC PREDICTIONS, BUT THIS IS SOMETHING TO WHICH WE SHOULD CERTAINLY BE ALERT ED. UPWARD SPIRALS CAN BE INTERFERED WITH. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT'S POSSIBLE, TOO, THAT UPWARD SPIRALS MAY WORK WITH SUCH POWER AND EFFECT THAT STEPPING IN ON THEM AND REVERSING THEM MAY PROVE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT AFTER A TIME.

RICHTER:

PELL, TODAY WE HAVE BEEN DISCUSSING THE MATTER OF OPPORTUNITIES AND MOTIVATION IN THE EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO. OUR THANKS THIS WEEK TO DR. E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER CHAIRMAN OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AT HOWARD UNIVERSITY; TO DR. KENNETH CLARK OF THE CITY COLLEGE OF NEW YORK; AND DR. JEROME B. HOLLAND, PRESIDENT OF DELAWARE STATE COLLEGE, FOR THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS TO TODAY'S PROGRAM. NEXT WEEK WE CONTINUE WITH OUR DISCUSSION OF NEGRO EDUCATION, BUT FROM THE STANDPOINT OF LEGAL ACTION LEADING ULTIMATELY TO THE SUPREME COURT SCHOOL DECISION OF MAY 17, 1954. JOIN US THEN, WON'T YOU, AS WE CONTINUE TO DISCUSS THE NEGRO IN AMERICA, "THE LAST CITIZEN."

MUSIC: THEME UP AND UNDER

ANNCR:

You have been distening to Dr. Louis Schneider, Professor of Sociology at Purdue University, and the program's producer-director E. 4. Richter, as they've discussed "The Last Citizen." This program was

PRODUCED AND RECORDED BY RADIO STATION $\Im AA$, PURDUE UNIVERSITY, UNDER A GRANT FROM THE EDUCATIONAL TELE-VISION AND RADIO CENTER, AND IS DEING DISTRIBUTED BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTERS.

MUSIC THEME UP TO FINISH

ANNCR: THIS IS THE NAES RADIO NETWORK.

THE LAST CITIZEN

PROGRAM #8
"THE SECOND SCHOOLHOUSE"
PART 2

VOICE:

(SLIGHT ECHO) WE CONCLUDE THAT IN THE FIELD OF PUBLIC EDUCATION THE DOCTRINE OF "SEPARATE BUT EQUAL" HAS NO PLACE. SEPARATE EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES ARE INHERENTLY UNEQUAL. THEREFORE WE HOLD THAT THE PLAINTIFFS AND OTHERS SIMILARLY SITUATED FOR WHOM THE ACTIONS HAVE BEEN BROUGHT ARE, DEPRIVED OF THE EQUAL PROTECTION OF THE LAWS GUARANTEED BY THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT. THIS DISPOSITION MAKES UNNECESSARY ANY DISCUSSION WHETHER SUCH SEGREGATION ALSO VIOLATES THE DUE PROCESS CLAUSE OF THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT.

MUSIC: STINGER

ANNCR:

THESE WORDS ARE TAKEN FROM THE SUPREME COURT DECISION OF MAY 17, 1954: THE SCHOOL DECISION OF THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT. TODAY WE HEAR A DISCUSSION OF SOME OF THE BACKGROUND TO THIS DECISION, AND SOME OF ITS EFFECTS, AND ITS IMPORTANCE TO THE EDUCATION OF THE LAST CITIZEN, THE NEGRO IN AMERICA.

MUSIC: STINGER

ANNCR:

THE LAST CITIZEN: THE NEGRO IN AMERICA. A SERIES OF PROGRAMS DEVOTED TO THE EXTENSION OF OUR KNOWLEDGE OF THE LARGEST MINORITY GROUP IN THE UNITED STATES, ITS PROBLEMS, A ND THE PROBLEMS IT POSES TO A LL AMERICANS. THE LAST CITIAEN IS PRODUCED BY RADIO STATION &BAA, PURDUE UNIVERSITY, UNDER A GRANT FROM THE EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION AND RADIO CENTER, IN COOPERATION WITH THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTERS. THE DISCUSSANTS ARE THE PRODUCER OF THE SERIES, E. W. RICHTER, AND DR. LOUIS SCHNEIDER, PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY AT PURDUE UNIVERSITY. TODAY'S PROGRAM: "THE SECOND SCHOOLHOUSE", PART 2. HERE NOW, IS MR. RICHTER

RICHTER:

IN LAST WEEK'S PROGRAM WE DELT WITH SOME OF THE PROBLEMS THAT THE NEGRO FACES IN ATTEMPTING TO GET AN EDUCATION. TO SET THE SCENE FOR OUR CONTINUED DISCUSSION OF NEGRO EDUCATION TODAY 1'D LIKE TO QUOTE A VERY USEFUL SUMMARY STATEMENT FROM JOSEPH KAHL'S RECENT TEXT ON THE AMERICAN CLASS STRUCTURE. BASING HIMSELF ON A UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY PAMPHLET ON THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN LIFE KAHL WRITES: "THE EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE IN THE LAST 50 YEARS HAS BEEN PHENOMENAL. AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY ALMOST HALF OF THEM WERE ILLITERATE. BY 1950, THE ILLITERACY RATE WAS APPROACHING 10 PER CENT. IN 1950 MORE NEGROES GRADUATED FROM COLLEGE THAN HAD

GRADUATED FROM HIGH SCHOOL IN 1920: INDEED THE RATE OF INCREASE IN NEGRO COLLEGE ENROLLMENTS DURING THIS PERIOD WAS SIX TIMES THAT OF THE WHITES. NEVERTHELESS ALTHOUGH THE NEGROES ARE FAST CATCHING UP TO WHITE EDUCATIONAL LEVELS, THEY STARTED WITH A GREAT HANDICAP WHICH STILL MARKS THEM. AS OF 1950, OVER A THIRD OF THE TOTAL WHITE POPULATION BUT ONLY 13 PER CENT OF THE NEGROES, HAD GRADUATED FROM HIGH SCHOOL. THIRTEEN PER CENT OF THE WHITES HAD GONE TO COLLEGE FOR AWHILE. BUT ONLY FIVE PER CENT OF THE NEGROES HAD ENTERED IVY HALLS. AND THE QUALITY OF NEGRO EDUCATION IS STILL DEFICIENT; THE NEGRO COLLEGES ARE HELD BACK BY THE POOR QUALITY OF PREPARATION IN SOUTHERN NEGRO HIGH SCHOOLS. ONLY RECENTLY HAVE THE GATES OF WHITE COLLEGES BEEN OPENED IN SIGNIFICANT DEGREE TO COLORED STUDENTS, AND THEY WILL BE AT A DISADVANTAGE THERE AS LONG AS HIGH SCHOOLS ARE UNEQUAL. THE SUPREME COURT DECISION OUTLAWING SEGREGATION COULD VASTLY SPEED THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE QUALITY OF NEGRO EDUCATION, FOR ONLY IN THE STATES THAT HAVE INTEGRATED SCHOOLS DO THE EXPENDITURES FOR THE EDUCATION OF NEGRO PUPILS MATCH THOSE FOR WHITES. BUT IF THE SOUTHERN STATES SUCCEED IN OUTMANEUVERING THE DECISION BY ABOLISHING THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS, THEN THE NEGROES WILL BE SET BACK A GENERATION OR MORE IN PROGRESS FOR THEY WILL BE UNABLE TO AFFORD GOOD PRIVATE SCHOOLS EVEN IF THERE IS A PARTIAL STATE SUBSIDY. " THIS LONG STATEMENT IS TAKEN FROM JOSEPH KAHL'S "THE AMERICAN CLASS STRUCTURE Now, LET US MAKE CONCRETE SOME OF THE THINGS KAHL SAYS BY LISTENING TO JUDGE J. WAITES WARING, RETIRED FEDERAL JUDGE FROM SOUTH CAROLINA.

WARING:

HAD THE FIRST SCHOOL SEGREGATION CASE. AND WHILE THE CASES THAT WENT TO THE SUPREME COURT. THE ONE FROM KANSAS, BROWN AGAINST THE BOARD WAS NUMBER ONE, AND BRIGGS AGAINST ELLIOTT THAT WAS THE CLARENDON SCHOOL CASE WAS NUMBER TWO. BUT BRIGGS AGAINST ELLIOTT WAS STARTED FIRST. AND WENT UP AND WAS SENT BACK AND WENT UP AGAIN, AND BY THE TIME IT GOT UP, BROWN HAD GOTTEN THERE. BUT THE CASES INVOLVED SOMEWHAT ... PRACTICALLY THE SIME ISSUES. CLARENDON COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA IS A DREADFULLY POOR COUNTY. THE COUNTIES IN THAT STATE. AS IN MOST STATES, VARY, AND THEY VARY VERY DIFFER-ENTLY. THAT'S ONE OF THE WORST COUNTIES IN SOUTH CAROLINA. THEY HAVE MORE NEGROES THAN WHITES IN THE POPULATION, IT'S A RURAL COUNTY, WITH ONLY TWO LITTLE TOWNS IN IT. IT'S POOR FARMING COUNTRY, POOR PEOPLE, WHITE AND NEGRO. LARGE NUMBERS OF THEM ILLITERATE OR NEAR ILLITERATE. AND VERY BACKWARD. Now THEY WERE... NEGRO PEOPLE UP THERE HAD DREADFUL SCHOOLS. | SOME-TIMES DROVE THROUGH THE COUNTY ON THE WAY TO HOLDING COURT IN ANOTHER PLACE OTHER THAN CHARLESTON ...

CHARLESTON WAS MY HEADQUARTERS, BUT I WENT TO FLORENCE FREQUENTLY. AND YOU COULD SEE THESE TUMBLED DOWN, DREADFUL, DIRTY, BACKWARDS PLACES. AND THE NEGROES FOUND THEY HAD TERRIBLE SCHOOLING—THEY FIRST STARTED ASKING FOR BETTER SCHOOLS, BUILDINGS, BOOKS—THERE WEREN'T ANY BOOKS IN THE SCHOOLS. ONE — SAY ONE BOOK TO TEN PUPILS, AND ALL OF THAT KIND OF THING. NO HEATING, NO TOILETS, AND JUST TERRIBLE KINDS OF THINGS. THE KIND OF THING THAT WE IMAGINE AS ONLY IN INDIA AND BACKWARD CHINA.

RICHTER:

AND WE CAN PLACE JUDGE WARING'S OBSERVATIONS ON THE STATE OF NEGRO EDUCATION IN ONE COUNTY OF SOUTH CAROLINA SIDE BY SIDE WITH THE RESULTS OF A STUDY MADE OF NEGRO EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH. FREDERICK D. PATTERS' PRESIDENT OF THE PHELPS-STOKES FUND, BRIEFLY DISCUSSED SOME OF THE FINDINGS OF THIS STUDY IN AN ADDRESS TO THE NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE CONVENTION IN OMAHA, NEBRASK IN THE FALL OF 1958.

PATTERSON:

THESE ARE SOME OF THE COMMON FAILINGS THAT WE HAVE ENCOUNTERED: ONE, THAT THERE WAS VERY LITTLE RELATION BETWEEN WHAT PARTICIPATING HIGH SCHOOLS STATED AS THEIR PHILOSOPHY (PARTICIPATING, IN THE SENSE, MEANING IN THIS 4 STATE STUDY INVOLVING ALABAMA, GEORGIA, MISS-ISSIPPI, AND NORTH CAROLINA) THERE WAS VERY LITTLE RELAT BETWEEN WHAT PARTICIPATING HIGH SCHOOLS STATED AS THEIR PHILOSOPHY AND OBJECTIVES ON ONE HAND, AND THEIR ACTUAL PRACTICES. THERE IS A CLOSE CORRELATION BETWEE NUTRITION AND GRADES, THE HONOR STUDENTS WERE THE WELL FED STUDENTS, I GUESS THERE MAY BE SOME EXCEPTIONS. BUT BY AND LARGE THAT WAS TRUE. THOSE WHO FAIL IN CLASSWORK ARE USUALLY THOSE WHO HAVE LITTLE OR NOTHING WHOLESOME IN THE WAY OF FOOD. WE HAVE ESTABLISHED THIS THROUGH A STUDY OF TEACHER'S RECORD BOODS, LUNCH-ROOM PATRONAGE AND HOME VISITS. WE HAVE FOUND THAT THERE IS A DIFFERENCE BETWEEN ACTUAL AND OFFICIAL ATENDANCE REPORTS, TO MAINTAIN TEACHER ALLOTMENTS THERE IS A CONSIDERABLE PADDING OF ATTENDANCE REPORTS. ACTUALLY, AFTER EIGHT YEARS IN THE AVERAGE RURAL SCHOOL, THE PUPIL HAS COMPLETED ONLY FOUR FULL YEARS WHERE ACTUAL DAYS ATENDED ARE CONCERNED. AND | MIGHT SAY THAT THERE IS COLLABORATION FROM THE SUPERINTEND-ENT'S OFFICE RIGHT THROUGH TO THE CLASSROOM TEACHER IN THIS MATTER OF FAKING ATTENDANCE RECORDS IN ORDER TO GET FINANCIAL ALLOTMENTS WHILE THE KIDS ARE OUT OF SCHOOL PLAYING OR PICKING COTTON OR GOING HUNTING. THE READING LEVELS OF BOTH PUPILS AND TEACHERS ARE LOW. CHILDREN ARE NOT MOTIVATED TO READ WIDELY. THIS IS REFLECTED IN LIMITED ACCOMPLISHMENT IN ALL FIELDS OF LEARNING. READING ABILITY, OF COURSE, IS SERIOUS. YOU CAN'T DO ARITHMETIC IF YOU CAN'T READ. AND YOU CAN'T DO MANY OTHER THINGS IN TERMS OF ACADEMIC

PERFORMANCE. LIBRARIES ARE TOO BARE. IN MANY CASES THERE IS ADEQUATE SHELVING, BUT A FEW BOOKS. THE PLACE OF A LIBRARY IN INSTRUCTION IS NOT FULLY APPRECIATED. SOMETIMES IF YOU ASK A TEACHER HOW MANY BOOKS THEY HAVE, THEY'LL SAY, "WELL A HUNDRED VOLUMES AND THEY'RE ALL HYMN BOOKS."

RICHTER:

THIS, THEN, IS SOME OF THE BACKGROUND AGAINST WHICH THE SUPREME COURT MADE ITS DECISION ON SCHOOL SEGREGATION ON MAY 17, 1954. YOU RECALL, OF COURSE, THAT THERE WAS A GREAT OUTCRY-FROM MANY SOUTHERNERS AGAINST THIS DECISION WITH CHARGES THAT THE COURT WAS ATTEMPTING TO DESTROY A SOUTHERN SOCIAL PATTERN OF LONG STANDING. MISS PAULI MURRAY, A LAWYER IN NEW YORK CITY AN AUTMOR, AND A STUDENT OF LEGISLATION AFFECTING NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES, HAS THIS TO SAY ABOUT THE ORIGIN OF THE "SEPARATE BUT EQUAL DOCTRINES".

MURRAY:

WELL, THE SEPARATE AND EQUAL DOCTRINE WHICH WE ARE SADDLED WITH TODAY, AND WHICH WE OVERTURNED IN LARGE PART WITH THE EDUCATION CASES BY THE SUPREME COURT IN 1954, IS ONLY ABOUT A HALF-CENTURY OLD IN THE HISTORY OF LEGISLATION IN OUR COUNTRY. BEFORE 1896, THAT WAS THE PLESSY VERSUS FERGUSON DECISION WHICH ENUN-CLATED THE SEPARATE BUT EQUAL DOCTRINE, THERE WAS NO UNIFORM SEGREGATION LEGISLATION IN THE SOUTH. THERE HAD BEEN NO NEED FOR IT UNDER SLAVERY, BECAUSE THE SLAVES OCCUPIED A CERTAIN CATEGORY, AND THE MASTER CLASS OCCUPIED ANOTHER CATEGORY. THERE WAS A GREAT DEAL OF INTERMINGLING OF THE RACES IN PUBLIC ACCOMODA-TIONS AND IN PUBLIC PLACES. BUT, FOLLOWING THE CIVIL MAR, FOLLOWING THE ABORTION OF THE RECONSTRUCTION ERA. AND THE COMING BACK INTO POWER OF THE WHITE SOUTH. THERE BEGAN TO BE THIS GRADUAL WHITTLING AWAY OF THE RIGHTS WHICH THE NEGROES - OR EVEN OF SOME OF THE OPPORTUNITIES WHICH THE NEGROES HAD ACHIEVED DURING THE BRIEF PERIOD OF RECONSTRUCTION, AND THEN THE STATE BEGAN TO PASS LAWS REQUIRING SEPARATION. ONE OF THESE STATUTES, NOT IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION, BUT IN THE FIELD OF TRANSPORTATION CAME UP FROM LOUISIANA TO THE SUPREME COURT FOR INTERPRETATION. THAT WAS THE PLESSY V. FERGUSON CASE, AND IN 1896, BY A DECISION OF 8 TO 1, THE SUPREME COURT SAID THAT SO LONG AS YOU HAD EQUAL FACILITIES, THE FACT THAT THEY ARE SEPARATE FACILITIES IS NOT UNCONSTITUTIONAL, AND IS NOT INEQUALITY WITHIN THE MEANING OF THE 14TH AMENDMENT.

RICHTER:

THIS WAS SPECIFICALLY APPLICABLE TO TRANSPORTATION.

MURRAY:

This was applicable to transportation. This was the case upon which it came to the Supreme Court. However the case upon which, one of the cases upon which the Supreme Court relied in announcing this doctrine was a

CASE COMING FROM MASSACHUSETTS IN 1849, WHICH HAD ALREADY BEEN REPUDIATED AND REJECTED BY THE PEOPLE OF MASSACHUSETTS, BECAUSE THEIR SUPREME COURT HAD SAID. IN ABOUT 1849, THAT IT WAS ALL RIGHT TO EXCLUDE A NEGRO CHILD FROM THE COMMON SCHOOLS, AND LEGISLATURE, THE NEXT SESSION, PASSED A LAW WHICH MADE THIS DECISION NULL AND VOID. BUT HERE WAS THIS OLD STATUTE HANGING THERE ON THE BOOKS, AND THE SUPREME COURT REACHED BACK A HALF-CENTURY AND TOOK THIS OLD MASSACHUSETTS, DECISION ... DID | SAY STATUTE? | MEANT TO SAY THIS OLD DECISION...THE SUPREME COURT REACHED BACK AND TOOK THIS WASSACHUSETTS DECISION TO BOLSTER ITS POSITION OF SEPARATE BUT EQUAL. Now, I THINK IT'S VERY SIGNIFICANT TO NOTE THAT THAT DECISION WAS AN 8 TO | DECISION. THE LONE WHO DISSENTED WAS ASSOCIATE JUSTICE JOHN M. HARLAN, WHOSE GRANDSON NOW SITS ON THE SUPREME COURT. AND THIS JUSTICE WROTE A MAGNIFICENT DISSENTING OPINION PROPHESYING THAT THE VIOLENCE DONE TO THE RIGHTS OF HUMAN BEINGS THAT DAY BY THE SUPREME COURT IN ANNOUNC-ING THIS SEPAR TE BUT EQUAL DOCTRINE WOULD CAUSE ANGUISH AND PAIN FOR GENERATIONS TO COME. EVERY LAWYER FROM THAT TIME ON WHO HAS ATTEMPTED TO FIND A LEGAL BASIS FOR OVERTURNING THE SEPARATE BUT EQUAL DOCTRINE HAS GONE TO THAT DISSENTING OPINION OF JUSTICE... ASSOCIATE JUSTICE JOHN M. HARLAN.

RICHTER: Lou, You seem to have some additional comments to

SCHNEIDER: Let me observe that, in the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, the Court said, "Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." The court was careful to point out that even when physical facilities and other so-called "tangible" factors may be assumed to be equal, there is still no equality where segregation prevails. To separate children in grade and high schools--just separate them--the court said...

"To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely to be undone."

RICHTER: IN OTHER WORDS, SEPARATION IS IN AND OF ITSELF DISCRIPTION.—AT LEAST IN THE SPHERE OF EDUCATION.

SCHNEIDER: Yes, and the argument of the Supreme Court is hardly a new one...It is an argument that has frequently been made before by persons who have recognized that the segregated group, precisely in virtue of its segregation, considers individuals who are not considered "fit associates" of those from whom they are separated moreover, we are aware that very often, it has <u>not</u> been the case that separate facilities have been

"EQUAL", AND IT IS WELL KNOWN TO STUDENTS OF THESE MATTERS THAT THE SEPARATE SCHOOLS OF THE NEGRO HAVE IN FACT GENERALLY BEEN QUITE INFERIOR ONES...NOT ONLY IN THE SOUTH, BUT IN THE NORTH AS WELL, WHERE HOUSING PATTERNS ARE INCLINED TO MAKE FOR ALL NEGRO SCHOOLS. AND IT'S A COMMONPLACE THAT THE EFFORT TO SUPPORT SEPARATE SCHOOL SYSTEMS AT A LEVEL ANYWHERE NEAR EQUALITY IMPOSES A GREAT ECONOMIC BURDEN, GREAT ECONOMIC BURDENS I SHOULD SAY ON COMMUNITIES, TO SAY NOTHING OF THE FACT THAT SUCH EFFORT IS ECONOMICALLY WASTEFUL AS BUILDING COSTS ARE MULTIPLIED AND OVERHEAD ARE DUPLICATED.

RICHTER:

WELL TO ALTER SLIGHTLY THE LINE OF APPROACH FOR THE MOMENT LOU, IN DISCUSSING THE SUPREME COURT DECISION, YOU MENTIONED THAT ONE OF THE POINTS THAT WAS MADE WAS THAT SEPARATE SCHOOLS GENERATE A FEELING OF INFERIORITY ON THE NEGROES' PART AS TOTHEIR STATUS IN THE COMMUNITY. REVEREND WILLIAM BORDERS, OF THE WHEAT STREET BAPTIST CHURCH IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA,... HAD THIS TO SAY WHEN WE ASKED HIM WHETHER OR NOT THE SUPREME COURT DECISION HAD DONE MUCH IN BOLSTERING THE NEGRO SELF-IMAGE...HIS MORALE, IF YOU WISH.

BORDERS:

OH, YES. THIS DECISION HAS DONE A TREMENDOUS AMOUNT OF GOOD. IT HAS AGITATED THE PUBLIC MIND, AND ALL OF US ARE THINKING MORE CLEARLY WITH REFERENCE TO SEGREGATION, AND THERE ARE MANY OF US WHO HAVE BEEN STRIPPED OF OUR PREJUDICES. AND THE IMPROVEMENTS WHICH HAVE COME ALONG EDUCATIONAL LINES, COMMON CARRIERS, AND OTHERWISE, HAVE DONE A GREAT DEAL TO MAKE THE NEGRO THINK MORE OF HIMSELF. AND THIS WAS ONE OF THE RESULTS INTENDED. MOREOVER, IT'S THE IMPLEMENTATION OF DEMOCRACY AT ITS HIGHEST AND BEST...NO QUESTION IN MY MIND ABOUT THAT.

RICHTER:

WE HAVE DEALT, THEN, WITH THE EDUCATIONAL SITUATION OF THE NEGRO, AS IT EXISTED AT THE TIME OF THE SUPREME COURT'S DECISION OF MAY 17, 1954. WE HAVE DISCUSSED THE "SEPARATE BUT EQUAL" DOCTRINE WHICH WAS OVERTHROWN BY THAT DECISION, AND REVEREND BORDERS OF ATLANTA. GEORGIA, HAS COMMENTED ON THE RESULTS OF THAT DECISION IN TERMS OF THE MORALE OF THE NEGRO. BUT WHAT ABOUT OUR WHITE POPULATION, PARTICULARLY IN THE SOUTH? WHAT ARE THEIR ATTITUDES TOWARD THIS HISTORIC DECISION? WHAT HAS BEEN DONE TO IMPLEMENT IT? MR. FRED ROUTH. ASSISTANT DIRECTOR OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, A CONSULTATIVE ORGANIZATION UPON PROBLEMS OF RACE RELATIONS, DISCUSSED THIS QUESTION WITH US WHEN WE VISITED HIM IN HIS OFFICE IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA. WE ASKED WR. ROUTH WHAT HE FELT WAS THE MOST IMPORTANT FACTOR IN THE SOUTH'S REACTION TO THE SUPREME COURT DECISION, AND TO GIVE US A BREAKDOWN, AS OF THE TIME of our Interview which was in the summer of 1958, of

SOUTHERN COMPLIANCE, OR NON-COMPLIANCE, WITH THE DECISION.

ROUTH:

WELL, I THINK, OF COURSE, THE MOST IMPORTANT FACT IS THE WHOLE FRAME OF REFERENCE, OR THE WHOLE FRAMEWORK UNDER WHICH RACE RELATIONS EXIST IN THE SOUTH, WAS CHANGED BY THE SUPREME COURT DECISION OF MAY 17, 1954, AND THOSE OF US WHO WORK IN THIS FIELD IN THE SOUTH DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THIS WAS ANY RADICAL DECISION. OR TH IT WAS ANY GREAT CHANGE FROM WHAT WAS ALREADY DEVELOP-ING. IF YOU TRACE THE COURT DECISIONS STARTING BACK ABOUT 1938, FROM THEN UNTIL 1954 YOU FIND THAT BIT BY BIT THE FLIMSY LEGAL BASIS OF PLESSY VERSUS FERGUSON. THE SEPARATE BUT EQUAL DOCTRINE WAS BEING WORN AWAY. AND BY 1954 THE ONLY DECISION OPEN TO THE COURT WAS THE ONE IT MADE. WE WERE OF COURSE PLEASED THAT IT WAS A UNANIMOUS DECISION. I THINK THAT THIS ADDED A GREAT DEAL OF STRENGTH TO THAT DECISION, PART! CULARLY SINCE THERE WERE THREE SOUTHERNERS SITTING ON THE SUPREME COURT AT THE TIME. I THINK THAT IT IS SIGNIFICANT THAT FOUR YEARS LATER THERE ARE ONLY SEVE LEFT WHO ARE PRACTICING SEGREGATION AS THEIR OFFICIAL STATE POLICY. IF YOU STOP AND THINK, IN 1954 THERE WERE 17 STATES AND THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA THAT PRACTICED'SEGREGATION. TODAY THERE ARE ONLY SEMEN LEFT THAT PRACTICE IT AS OFFICIAL POLICY. THAT DOES NOT MEAN, OF COURSE, BY ANY MEANS, THAT IN ALL OF THE STATES THAT HAVE STARTED THE PROCESS IT'S ANYPLACE NEAR COMPLETE -- IT'S NOT. BUT IF YOU IGNORE THE BORDER STATES -- MARYLAND, DELAWARE, VEST VIRGINIA. MISSOURI, AND SUCH STATES AS THAT--AND CONCENTRATE ON THE SOUTHERN STATES YOU'LLFIND THAT THEY HAVE MADE AN AMAZING ADJUSTMENT EVEN IN THIS BRIEF PERIOD OF TIME. IF YOU PUT THEM ON A CONTINUUM FROM THE STATE THAT HAS DONE THE MOST ABOUT COMPLIANCE TO THE STATE WHICH IS MOST IN DEFIANCE, I THINK IT WOULD RUN SOMETHING LIKE THIS: IN OKLAHOMA, ABOUT 84% OF THE SCHOOL DISTRICTS IN WHICH NEGRO CHILDREN LIVE ARE IN THE PRO-CESS OF DESEGREGATION. IN KENTUCKY, BETTER THAN 80% THE SCHOOL DISTRICTS IN WHICH NEGRO SCHOOL CHILDREN LIVE ARE IN THE PROCESS OF DESEGREGATION. THIS IS FOLLOWED BY TEXAS WITH BETWEEN 25 AND 30% OF THOSE SCHOOL DISTRICTS IN THE PROCESS OF DESEGREGATION. Now. THE REASON FOR SAYING 25% TO 30% IS THAT WE'VE DISCOVERED A NUMBER OF SCHOOL DISTRICTS IN TEXAS THAT HAVE DESEGREGATED THEIR SCHOOLS BUT FAILED TO TELL THE STATE GOVERNMENT ABOUT IT BECAUSE THEY DIDN'T WANT TROUBLE OR INTERFERENCE FROM THE STATE GOVERNMENT. TEXAS IS FOLLOWED BY ARKANSAS, IN WHICH SEVEN SCHOOL DISTRICTS HAVE STARTED THE PROCESS OF DESEGREGATION. AND THEN OF COURSE WE COME ON OVER TO NORTH CAROLINA WHERE THREE CITIES, CHARLOTTE, GREENSBORO, AND WINSTON-SALEM, HAVE STARTED THE PROCESS OF DESEGREGATION, AND

DONE SO ON A VOLUNTARY BASIS. THIS WAS NOT UNDER COURT ORDER. I THINK THAT'S AN IMPORTANT DISTINCTION. THIS IS FOLLOWED BY TENNESSEE, WHERE THERE ARE TWO COMMUNITIES, OR THREE COMMUNITIES, DEPENDING ON HOW YOU LOOK AT IT. NASHVILLE HAS STARTED THE PROCESS WITH ITS FIRST GRADE LAST YEAR, WILL CARRY IT ON INTO THE SECOND GRADE THIS YEAR. CLINTON, TENNESSEE, OF COURSE, HAS ALSO MOVED INTO DESEGREGATION. OAK RIDGE IS THE ONE COMMUNITY WHICH SOME PEOPLE QUESTION. OAK RIDGE HAS DESEGREGATED ITS SCHOOLS, BUT IT IS PRIMARILY A FEDERAL COMMUNITY. IT'S UP, OF COURSE, WHERE THE GREAT ATOMIC ENERGY PROJECT IS AT OAK RIDGE. BUT NEVERTHELESS THIS WAS DONE, TOO, SO AT LEAST COMMUNI-TIES THERE HAVE STARTED THE PROCESS. THEN THERE ARE TWO STATES, VIRGINIA AND FLORIDA, OF THE REMAINING SEVEN WHO DO NOT BELONG IN WHAT WE CALL THE 'HARD-CORE CATEGORY. VIRGINIA IS AN UPPER SOUTH STATE WITH A DEEP SOUTH POSTURE. AND THIS IS A POSITION DIFFICULT EITHER FOR A STATE OR AN INDIVIDUAL TO MAINTAIN. AND THAT LEAVES FLORIDA OUTSIDE OF THE HARD CORE CATEGORY, AND IN FLORIDA IT WOULD NOT BE REALLY DIFFICULT TO DESEGREGATE THE DADE COUNTY AREA--THIS IS MIAMI--OR TH PENELLIS COUNTY AREA, THAT'S AROUND ST. PETERSBURG. THOSE TWO AREAS TEND TO BE LIBERAL, TEND NOT TO BE WORRIED ABOUT THIS TOO MUCH. THE OLD SAYING THAT THE FURTHER SOUTH YOU GET IN FLORIDA, THE MORE NORTH YOU ARE, I THINK IS TRUE. I WAS RAISED IN FLORIDA, KNOW IT INTIMATELY OF COURSE, AND WENT TO GRADE SCHOOL AND HIGH SCHOOL IN THE MIAMI ARES, AND KNOW THE THINKING OF MANY OF THE PEOPLE THERE. | DON'T THINK RESISTANCE WOULD BE HIGH. THAT LEAVES FIVE STATES IN THE HARD-CORE: LOUISIANA, ALABAMA, GEORGIA, SOUTH CAROLINA, MISSISSIPPI. AND MISSISSIPPI WILL BE THE MOST DIFFI-CULT STATE, AT LEAST IN MY ESTIMATION, TO WORK OUT THE PARTICULAR PROBLEM. THE ONE SAVING GRACE IN GEORGIA IS ATLANTA, A GREAT METROPOLITAN CENTER, A DISTRIBUTIO CENTER FOR THE ENTIRE SOUTHEAST, A FINANCIAL CENTER FOR THE ENTIRE SOUTHEAST, AND A CITY THAT MIGHT WELL BE SAID TO BE ON THE MAKE. IT'S A CITY THAT HAS A GOOD ADMINISTRATION, A DITY WHOSE NEGRO POPULATION VC-IN INCREASING NUMBERS, AND WHO ARE POLITICALLY ARTI-CULATE. THIS HAS BEEN A VERY HELPFUL THING IN THIS A. MISSISSIPPI, ON THE OTHER HAND, IS PRIMARILY A RURAL STATE, AND IN MOST FEATURES IS NUMBER FORTY-EIGHT IN A LIST OF THE STATES OF THE UNION IN TERMS OF THE AMOUNT OF MONEY SPENT FOR ITS SCHOOLS, AND SO ON AND SO FORTH, AND IN TERMS OF ATTAINMENT OF ITS SCHOOLS. So the problem there is burdensome, more so, for INSTANCE, THAN SAY, IN GEORGIA, OR OF THE OTHER HARD-CORE STATES.

RICHTER:

THUS FRED ROUTH, \SSISTANT DIRECTOR OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, PAINTS A PICTURE OF PROGRESS UP TO

THE SUMMER OF 1958 THAT IS FAR FROM ENTIRELY DISCOURAGING. NOW...LOU, I'M GOING TO POSE A THOROUGHLY NAIVE QUESTION: WHY IS THIS ISSUE OF EDUCATION SO TERRIBLY IMPORTANT FOR THE NEGRO?

SCHNEIDER:

WE ALL KNOW, IN A GENERAL WAY, THAT EDUCATION IS A VITAL THING TODAY. EDUCATION IS A BROAD HIGHWAY TO BETTER EMPLOYMENT AND ALL OF THE THINGS THAT GO WITH BETTER JOBS. TIME WAS, WHEN THE DREAM OF BECOMING A SMALL BUSINESSMAN MADE A KIND OF SENSE. SMALL BUSINESSMEN MIGHT, AND DID FAIL....BUT A MAN COULD STILL HOPE, WITH SOME JUSTIFICATION, THAT IF HE SAVED A CERTAIN, NOT TOO GREAT, AMOUNT OF CAPITAL AND WENT INTO BUSINESS FOR HIMSELF, HE MIGHT MAKE A GO OF IT. MIND YOU, THERE WERE ALWAYS LIMITATIONS TOTHIS KIND OF THING, BUT TODAY IT'S MORE AND MORE THE CASE THAT, UNLESS A MAN IS VERY DESIROUS OF MAKING MONEY (AND EDUCATION NEEDN'T BE HANDICAP EVEN IF THIS IS THE CASE HIS BEST BET FOR A LIFE IN WHICH HE WILL HAVE A CERTAI AMOUNT OF SECURITY AND A SO-CALLED DECENT INCOME IS TO OBTAIN AN EDUCATION. THE ROAD TO WHAT, IN GENERAL TERMS, WE CALL 'MIDDLE-CLASS' POSITION, LEADS THROUGH SCHOOL AND COLLEGE, TO TECHNICAL AND PROFESSIONAL TRAINING THAT CAN BE OBTAINED ONLY BY SCHOOLING.

RICHTER:

SO THAT THE NEGRO'S FIGHT FOR AN EDUCATION IS NOT ONLY A FIGHT FOR BREAD AND BUTTER, BUT ALSO A FIGHT FOR DECENT HEALTH, FOR ATTAINING A STATE OF BEING REASON—'ABLY INFORMED....SOMETHING WHICH COMES MOST. READILY FROM SCHOOLING....AND FOR AN INCOME THAT WILL REALLY HELP IN MEETING HOUSING EXPENSES, MEDIC L EXPENSES...AND SO ON.

SCHNEIDER:

YES. CERTAINLY. THIS IS WHAT THE FIGHT IS ABOUT. IN STRIVING FOR AN EDUCATION ON A PAR WITH THAT OF THE WHITE MAN, THE NEGRO IS AT THE SAME TIME STRIVING FOR THINGS THAT EDUCATION BRINGS WITH IT A CERTAIN LEVE. OF KNOWLEDGE AND INFORMATION INDESPENSIBLE FOR--SHALL I SAY? -- LIVING 'WELL' IN THE MODERN WORLD; AN INCOME LEVEL OF THE KIND WE CALL 'DECENT' : A CHANCE TO REDUCE DISEASE TO THE LOWER INCIDENCE IT USUALLY HAS AMONG WHITES...YOU MIGHT ALMOST SAY IT'S A FIGHT FOR LIFE. OR FOR A LEVEL OF LIFE COMPARABLE TO THAT OF WHITES. IN 1952, THIRTY PERCENT OF WHITE FAMILIES HAD A CASH INCOME OF OVER \$5000.00, BUT LESS THAN EIGHT PERCENT OF THE NEGRO FAMILIES DID. VERY NEARLY THREE-QUARTERS of the Negro families earned less than \$3000.00, but LESS THAN FORTY PERCENT OF THE WHITE FAMILIES EARNED UNDER \$3000.00. IN OCCUPATIONS YOU GET AGAIN EXACTLY WHAT YOU MIGHT EXPECT. NEGROES ARE, BY COMPARISON WIT-THE WHITES, VERY POORLY REPRESENTED IN THE PROFESSIONS POORLY REPRESENTED AMONG SALESMEN AND CLERICAL WORKERS

AMONG CRAFTSMEN, AND FOREMEN. BUT WHEN YOU COME TO THE BUSINESS OF BEING A SERVICE WORKER OR A LABORER-THERE, OF COURSE, THE NEGRO IS VERY 'WELL' REPRESENTED. HE STILL HAS CONSIDERABLE GROUNDS TO COVER BEFORE EQUALITY WITH WHITES IS ACHIEVED. AND EDUCATION IS A TREMENDOUSLY POTENT ELEMENT IN ALL THESE THINGS.

RICHTER:

IT'S PRETTY CLEAR, THEREFORE, THAT THE FIGHT FOR AN EDUCATION AS GOOD AS THAT OBTAINED BY HITES IS INDE-SPENSIBLE STRATEGY FOR THE NEGRO. WE MIGHT JUST END ON THE NOTE THAT THIS IS AN EVIDENT ENOUGH THING, BUT AN EXTREMELY IMPORTANT ONE. IN OUR PROGRAM TODAY, WE HEARD REPORTS ON THE STATE OF NEGRO EDUCATION IN THE South before and after the Supreme Court decision from JUDGE J. WAITES WARING, RETIRED FEDERAL DISTRICT JUDGE FROM SOUTH CAROLINA, AND MR. FREDERICK D. PATTERSON, PRESIDENT OF THE PHELPS-STODES FUND, MISS PAULI MURRAY A LAWYER, AUTHOR, AND EXPERT ON LEGISLATION AFFECTING NEGROES, BRIEFED US ON THE LEGAL BACKGROUND TO THE SUPREME COURT DECISION. REVEREND WILLIAM BORDERS OF THE WHEAT STREET BAPTIST CHURCH IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA, SPOKE OF THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF THE SUPREME COURT'S DECISION ON NEGROES IN GENERAL. AND MR. FRED ROUTH, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL Council, DISCUSSED SOUTHERN ATTITUDES TOWARDS, AND DEGREE OF COMPLIANCE WITH, THE SUPREME COURT'S DECISION WE INVITE YOU TO JOIN US AGAIN NEXT WEEK AT THIS TIME WHEN WE TAKE UP THE QUESTION OF THE NEGRO AND "THE CITY.": MIGRATION AND URBANIZATION, AS WE CONTINUE TO DISCUSS "THE LAST CITIZEN", THE NEGRO IN AMERICA.

MUSIC THEME UP AND UNDER

ANNCR:

You have been listening to Dr. Louis Schneider, Professor of Sociology at Purdue University and the Program's producer-director E. V. Richter as they discuss "The Last Citizen". This program was produced and recorded by WBAA, Purdue University, under a grant from the Educational Television and Radio Center and is being distributed by the National Association of Educational Broadcasters.

MUSIC THEME UP TO FINISH

ANNCR:

THIS IS THE NAEB RADIO NETWORK.

THE LAST CITIZEN

PROGRAM #9
"THE CITY--PART I"
MIGRATION AND URBANIZATIO

JOHNSON:

WE BELIEVE THAT MIGRATION EMBODIES TWO MAJOR FACTORS. A PUSH OUT OF ONE ENVIRONMENT AND A PULL OUT OF ANOTHE ENVIRONMENT. THE QUESTION MIGHT BE ASKED, "MHY DOES THE NEGRO MIGRATE?" THE QUESTION MIGHT BE ASKED "WHY DOES THE NEGRO NOT MIGRATE?" WELL, THIS SHOULD BE, OF COURSE, IN THE CONTEXT OF WHAT MAKES MOST PEOPLE MOVE, AND PEOPLE MOVE EITHER BECAUSE THEIR PRESENT SITUATION IS AN UNHAPPY ONE, OR BECAUSE THE PROSPECTIV NEW SITUATION IS A ROSY ONE, OR BOTH.

MUSIC: STINGER

ANNCR:

THESE WORDS BY ONE OF OUR GUESTS OF THE DAY SERVE TO INTRODUCE THE TOPIC OF TODAY'S DISCUSSION; MIGRATION AND URBANIZATION OF THE NEGRO IN THE UNITED STATES AS WE CONTINUE WITH THE PROBLEMS OF "THE LAST CITIZEN."

MUSIC: STINGER

ANNICR:

THE LAST CITIZEN; THE NEGRO IN AMERICA. A SERIES OF PROGRAMS DEVOTED TO THE EXTENSION OF OUR KNOWLEDGE OF THE LARGEST MINCRITY GROUP IN THE UNITED STATES, ITS PROBLEMS, AND THE PROBLEMS IT POSES TO ALL AMERICANS. THE LAST CITIZEN IS PRODUCED BY RADIO STATION WBAA, PURDUE UNIVERSITY, UNDER A GRINT FROM THE EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION AND RADIO CENTER, IN COOPERATION WITH THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTERS, THE DISCUSSANTS ARE THE PRODUCER OF THE SERIES, E. W. RICHTER, AND DR. LOUIS SCHNEIDER, PROFESSOR OF SOCICLOGY AT PURDUE UNIVERSITY. TODAY'S PROGRAM: MIGRATIC AND URBANIZATION. HERE NOW IS MR. RICHTER.

RICHTER:

THE NEGRO AND THE CITY. OUR DISCUSSIONS OF THE PAST FEW WEEKS HAVE CENTERED AROUND PROBLEMS THAT ARE NATIONAL IN THEIR SCOPE PROBLEMS THAT ARE NOT LIMITED TO ANY GIVEN AREA. FOR THE NEXT FEW WEEKS WE WILL BE DEALING WITH PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH THE NEGRO IN A SPECIFIC AREA OF POPULATION CONCENTRATION. .. THE CITY. WE'LL BE TALKING ABOUT SUCH THINGS AS TH NEGRO AND THE LABOR MARKET, THE NEGRO AND THE HOUSING MARKET, THE NEGRO AND CRIME, AND SO FORTH. TODAY WE DEAL WITH HIM AS THE "LAST MIGRANT." OUR DISCUSSION WILL HAVE TO DO WITH THE REASONS FOR HIS MIGRATION TO THE CITIES, AND, TO A CERTAIN EXTENT, WITH HIS SITUA-TION CNCE HE REACHES THE CITY. IN OTHER WORDS, WE'LL BE DEALING WITH A COMPOSITE PROBLEM OF MIGRATION AND URBANIZATION. FOR A GENERAL BACKGROUND TO THE MATTER OF MIGRATION, LET'S TURN TO LOU SCHNEIDER.

SCHNEIDER:

HE'RE ALL WELL AWARE THAT MIGRATION HAS BEEN OF TREMENDOUS CONSEQUENCE IN THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. PRIOR TO 1890 WE HAD WHAT HISTORIANS AND SOC-IOLOGISTS SOMETIMES CALL THE OLD MIGRATION--MIGRATION FROM THE NORTHERN AND WESTERN PARTS OF EUROPE.... MIGRATION REPRESENTED BY GERMANS, SCANDINAVIANS, ENGLISHMEN, AND SO ON. THIS KIND OF MIGRATION REPRE-SENTED AN INFLOW INTO THE UNITED STATES OF PEOPLE OF CULTURAL BACKGROUNDS NOT VERY DIFFERENT FROM THOSE OF AMERICANS. DIFFERENCES THERE WERE, YES. BUT AT THE SAME TIME THE CULTURES OF SCANDINAVIA, ENGLAND, AND GERMANY WERE APPRECIABLE CLOSE TO THE CULTURE OF THE UNITED STATES. AFTER ABOUT 1890, AS IS WELL KNOWN, TH CURRENT OF MIGRATION -- OR THE SOURCE OF MIGRANTS -- BEGAN TO SHIFT. MIGRANTS BEGAN TO COME FROM THE SOUTHERN AND EASTERN PARTS OF EUROPE. PEOPLE OF ITALIAN ORIGIN GREEK ORIGIN, SLAVIC ORIGIN, COMPOSED THIS NEWER MIGRA TION. CULTURAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THESE PEOPLE AND AMERICANS WERE GREATER THAN THEY HAD BEEN BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVES OF THE OLDER MIGRATION AND AMERICANS. IN THE 1920'S WE REVISED OUR IMMIGRATION LAWS TO MEET WHAT WE THOUGHT OF AS A DISTINCTIVELY NEW SITUATION. IN ANY CASE. CUR LAWS BECAME RESTRICTIVE. THEY WERE DESIGNED TO FAVOR THE OLD TYPE MIGRANTS OVER THE NEW. ALSO, OUR QUOTA SYSTEM RESTRICTED SHARPLY THE NUMBERS OF IMMIGRANTS WE WOULD ALLOW ENTRANCE ANNUALLY. HERE-AFTER, IF WE NEEDED REALLY LARGE SUPPLIES OF LABOR, WE COULD NO LONGER DRAW SO HEAVILY ON OLD EUROPE. AND, INDEED, BEGINNING ONLY A FEW YEARS BEFORE OUR RESTRICTIVE IMMIGRATION LEGISLATION. IMPORTANT MOVEMEN OF NEGRO WORKERS TOWARD THE NORTH GOT UNDERWAY. AROUN THE TIME OF WORLD WAR I, WITH THE DEMAND FOR SKILLED AND UNSKILLED LABOR COMING FROM NORTHERN INDUSTRIES. NEGROES STARTED TO MOVE UP TO CITIES LIKE NEW YORK, PHILADELPHIA, DETROIT AND CHICAGO IN CONSIDERABLE NUMBERS.

RICHTER:

VELL, LET ME INTERRUPT HERE FOR A MOMENT TO MAKE THE POINT THAT WHEN INDUSTRY BEGINS TO CALL UP NEGROES FR. THE SOUTH TO THE NORTHERN CENTERS, THE PROCESS BECOMES ONE THAT IS CALLED <u>INTERNAL</u> MIGRATION.

SCHNEIDER:

YES. THE NEGRO MIGRATION, TO BE SURE, IS INTERNAL MIGRATION....MIGRATION WITHIN THE COUNTRY ITSELF. SOINTERNAL MIGRATION ANY COUNTRY IS LIKELY TO HAVE. AND ESPECIALLY IN A COUNTRY THAT'S HIGHLY INDUSTRIALIZED AND URBANIZED, YOU'LL HAVE A GOOD DEAL OF IT. THERE ARE PARTS OF THE WORLD STILL IN WHICH THERE IS A CERTAIN LIKELIHOOD THAT A MAN WILL PASS ALL HIS LIFE WITHIN TWENTY MILES OR SO OF THE SPOT WHERE HE WAS BORN. BUT THIS IS GETTING RAKER AND RARER, AND PERHAPSCON WILL BE JUST ABOUT NON-EXISTENT. IN A COUNTRY

LIKE OURS THERE IS BOUND TO BE A GREAT DEAL OF INTERNAL MOVEMENT. IT'S FASCINATING TO TURN BACK NOW TO THE HISTORY OF VARIOUS MODERN COUNTRIES....FOR EXAMPLE, GERMANY...AND NOTE HOW, IN THE LATTER DECADES OF THE 19th CENTURY, AFTER GERMANY HAD BEGUN ITS BIG INDUSTRIA "KICK" FROM ABOUT 1870 ON, THE CURRENTS OF INTERNAL MIGRATION BECAME EXTREMELY POWERFUL. TRUE, THE U.S. H CONSISTENTLY BEEN A COUNTRY OF HIGH INTERNAL MOBILITY. BUT AS OF TODAY, OUR HIGH MOBILITY IS UNDOUBTEDLY SUSTAINED BY THE INDUSTRIAL AND URBAN CHARACTER OF CUR CIVILIZATION. AND THE NEGRO PEOPLE ARE CERTAINLY IM-PORTANT, VERY IMPORTANT, IN OUR INTERNAL MIGRATION. IT'S FAIRLY ACCURATE TO SAY THAT OUR CITIES WERE HIT SUCCESSIVELY BY PEOPLE LIKE GERMANS AND SCANDINAVIANS, BY PEOPLE LIKE ITALIANS AND POLES, FINALLY BY PEOPLE LIKE NEGROES AND PUERTO RICANS. IN VIEW OF THE LATE-NESS OF THE NEGRO MIGRATION, AND THE NUMERICAL IMPORT-ANCE OF THE NEGRO GROUP, ONE MIGHT FAIRLY CALL THE NEGRO THE LAST MIGRANT....THE LAST MAN IN...AND BY NO MEANS THE LEAST IMPORTANT ONE. IF YOU LIKE, "THE LAST CITIZEN."

RICHTER:

AND HERE WE ARE SQUARELY ON OUR TOPIC. IN THE CASE OF THIS PROGRAM WE'VE BEEN EVEN MORE EMBARASSED BY RICHES THAN WE HAVE CRDINARILY BEEN. THE AMOUNT OF MATERIAL AVAILABLE TO US IS OVERWHELMING. IN CASTING ABOUT IN THAT MATERIAL, WE HAVE DECIDED THAT IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO LISTEN FOR SOME FEW MINUTES TO DR. ROBERT B. JOHNSON, DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS, WHOSE FOLLOWING STATEMENT HAS THE VIRTUE OF TRAVELLING BETWEEN GENERALIZED AND PERSONALIZED COMMENTS....BOTH OF WHICH ARE USEFUL TO BEAR IN MIND.

JOHNSON:

BELIEVE THAT MIGRATION EMBODIES TWO MAJOR FACTORS. A PUSH OUT OF ONE ENVIRONMENT AND A PULL OUT OF ANOTHE ENVIRONMENT. THE QUESTION MIGHT BE ASKED, "WHY DOES THE NEGRO MIGRATE?" THE QUESTION MIGHT BE ASKED, "WHY DOES THE NEGRO NOT MIGRATE?" VELL, THIS SHOULD BE, OF COURSE, IN THE CONTEXT OF WHAT MAKES MOST PEOPLE MOVE AND PEOPLE MOVE EITHER BECAUSE THEIR PRESENT SITUATION IS AN UNHAPPY ONE OR BECAUSE THE PROSPECTIVE NEW SITUATION IS A ROSY ONE, OR BOTH. THE EURCPEAN IMMIGRANT EXPECTED TO FIND GOLD IN THE STREETS, FOR SE REASON, WHEN HE CAME TO THIS COUNTRY. THE AMERICAN NEGRO IN THE SOUTH DOES NOT MAKE MUCH MONEY. IN THE AREA OF THE DEPRESSION, I THINK, THE DOMESTIC USED TO MAKE THREE DOLLARS A WEEK IN THE RURAL AREAS AND MAYDE SIX DOLLARS A WEEK IN THE URBAN AREAS. THE SHARE-CROPPER SITUATION IS MANAGER OF THE PLANTATION USES WHAT THEY CALL THE CROCKED PENCIL-- (THAT IS, HE ALTERS THE FIGURES AND YOU CAN NEVER PROVE WHETHER HE HAS PUT DOWN THE RIGHT FIGURES FOR WHAT YOU OWE OR NOT,) --THEN YOU'RE ALWAYS IN DEBT, YOU CAN NEVER GET AHEAD,

AND YOUR LIFE WILL JUST BE FIGHTING FROM SUN TO SUN TO MAINTAIN YOURSELF AND KEEP ALIVE. THE PEOPLE MOVE IN A COMMUNITY SORT OF WAY. A FEW VENTURESOME SOULS GO FORTH, SOME OF THEM MAKE GOOD. THEY NEVER PICK UP AND MOVE ALL IN ONE SWITCH. THEY ALMOST NEVER DO. THEY GO UP NORTH AND LOOK AROUND AND SEE THE SITUATION AND COME BACK HOME AND REPORT ABOUT IT. OR MAYBE THEY GO UP NORTH AND GET A JOB AND WRITE BACK AND SEND DACK FO THE FAMILY. TORD GOES FROM COUSIN TO COUS! N, BROTHER TO BROTHER, THAT THE INDUSTRIAL OPPORTUNITY IS GOOD IN A CERTAIN AREA AND THEN WHOLE FAMILIES BEGIN TO PICUP AND MOVE TOWARD THE NORTH.

IT HAS OFTEN BEEN POINTED OUT THAT THE NEGRO MAY BE WORSE OFF IN THE NORTH THAN IN THE SOUTH BECAUSE HE NEVER KNOWS WHERE HE STANDS, WHERE HE WILL BE ACCEPTED OR REJECTED IN PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS, JOBS, IN FORMAL GROUPS. THIS MAY BE TRUE; BUT THE FACT OF NOT HAVING LAWS TO PROMOTE SEGREGATION IS A COMFORTING ONE. AND THE FACT THAT YOU MAY HAVE ABOUT SEVENTEEN STATES IN THE NORTH THAT HAVE LAWS AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IS LIKEWISE COMFORTING. THE FACT THAT IF A PERSON DISCRIMINATES AGAINST YOU, HE IS USUALLY ACTING AGAINST THE LAW, WILL HELP YOU. THE FREEDOM THAT YOU CAN FEEL IN THE NORTH IS SOMETHING THAT IS ALMOST INDESCRIBANCE. HAVE SEEN MANY PEOPLE AND THE WAY THEY SIGH JUST FROM THE BUSINESS OF CROSSING THE OHIO RIVER WHICH SIGNIFIE THAT THEY ARE NO LONGER IN THE SOUTH.

MIGRATION HAS MANY CAUSES BUT YOU'LL USUALLY FIND THAT IT IS A WORD OF MOUTH THING, BROTHER TO BROTHER, COUSIN TO COUSIN. PASTOR OF THE CHURCH SOMETIMES WOUL GC UP NORTH TO TAKE A LOOK AT SITUATIONS FIND OUT WHER THE WELFARE FACILITIES ARE AND WHERE PEOPLE CAN OBTAIN HOUSING. AND THEN, SOMETIMES, HE'D SEND FOR HIS WHOLE CONGREGATION AND MOST OF THEM, OF COURSE, WOULD STAY. THEN CERTAIN CITIES BECOME TRADITION. IT'S A GOOD QUESTION WHY THE NEGRO PEOPLE GO TO SOME CITIES AND NO OTHERS. LIKE IN THE CASE OF THE PUERTO RICAN WHERE TH INDUSTRIAL OPPORTUNITIES ARE MUCH BETTER IN CHICAGO AP MILWAUKEE THAN IT IS IN NEW YORK. AND YET THERE ARE ONLY 25,000 PUERTO RICANS IN CHICAGO AND THERE ARE 5 OF 600,000 IN NEW YORK. PART OF THIS IS JUST A PATTERN. A FEW PEOPLE DID IT AND DID IT SUCCESSFULLY SO SOMEONE ELSE DOES IT. YOU HAVE TO HAVE A TRADITION OF SUCCESS IN EVERY GROUP IN ORDER TO FIND THE PATTERN FOR THE REST OF YOUR GROUP: AND IF A GUY GOES TO CHICAGO AND MAKES GOOD, THEN WHY SHOULDN'T TEN OTHERS? THERE ARE MANY SMALLER TOWNS WHERE IT WOULD NEVER OCCUR TO PEOP! TO MIGRATE, EVEN THOUGH THE INDUSTRIAL OPPORTUNITY IS GREAT, AND KNOW FOR NEGRO IN NASHVILLE, CHICAGO AND DETROIT AND CLEVELAND ARE MECCA, BECAUSE YOU ARE FREE THERE, THERE ARE JOBS FOR YOU, THERE ARE UNIONS THAT MIGHT PROTECT YOUR JOB SECURITY, THERE IS HOUSING THAT IS BAD, BUT IT AT LEAST IS BETTER THAN WHAT YOU HAD.

AND KEEP IN MIND THAT IT'S ALWAYS A MATTER OF RELATIVE DEPRIVATION, A PERSON CAN ALWAYS SAY TO HIMSELF. WELL THIS MAY NOT BE SO HOT BUT RELATIVE TO WHAT I HAD DOWN SOUTH THIS LOOKS VERY GOOD.

SCHNEIDER:

DR. JOHNSON SPEAKS OF THE PUSH AND PULL OF MIGRATION. HOWEVER, THE PARTICULAR FACTORS INVOLVED IN MIGRATION OF THE NEGRO HAVE WORKED OUT, THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT THE EFFECT UPON OUR CITIES HAS BEEN VERY, VERY CONSIDE ABLE. ACCORDING TO ONE CAREFULLY DONE STUDY OF NEW YORK IN THE YEARS FROM 1950 TO 1957, THE NUMBERS OF NON-WHITES IN NEW YORK IN THOSE YEARS ... AND THE NON-WHITES ARE OVERWHELMINGLY NEGROES....INCREASED BY 26.5 LOS ANGELES INCREASED ITS NON-WHITE POPULATION BY OVER 47% IN THE COURSE OF THE SAME FEW YEARS. GARY, INDIAN BY MORE THAN 55%; AND SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA, BY MORE THAN 82%. IN NEW YORK CITY THERE WERE ABOUT THREE QUARTERS OF A MILLION NON-WHITES IN 1950. By 1957 THERE WERE ABOUT A MILLION, AND A VERY GREAT MAJORITY OF THESE MILLION NON-WHITES WERE NEGROES. IF WE TAKE OUR LARGEST METROPOLITAN AREAS AS A WHOLE, THE NEGRO POPULATION HAS BEEN INCREASING IN THEM AT A MUCH GREAT RATE THAN THE WHITE POPULATION IN RECENT YEARS.

RICHTER:

BUT WHAT ARE THE EFFECTS THAT SUCH A RAPID INCREASE IN THE NEGRO POPULATION HAS ON THESE CITIES? FOR EXAMPLE WE KNOW THAT OF RECENT YEARS THERE HAS BEEN AN EVER INCREASING EXODUS OF WHITE FAMILIES FROM URBAN CENTERS OUT TO THE SUBURBS. JHAT EFFECT DOES THIS HAVE ON THE GROWING NEGRO MINORITY? DOES THE PRESENCE OF AN EVER GROWING NON-WHITE POPULATION IN URBAN CENTERS BREED RACIAL FRICTION? CAN WE DIFFERENTIATE AMONG CITIES WITH REGARD TO HOW THEY FACE UP TO RACIAL PROBLEMS?

SCHNEIDER:

LET ME ANSWER YOUR LAST QUESTION FIRST, JALT. ALTHOUGYOU CAN LUMP, OR GROUP, THE LARGER CITIES FOR SOME ANALYTICAL PURPOSES, STILL FOR THE PURPOSE OF CERTAIN KINDS OF ANALYSIS ONE MUST MAKE DIFFERENTIATIONS. FOR EXAMPLE, IN THE MATTER OF RACE RELATIONS IN VARIOUS CITIES—COMPARED WITH CHICAGO, PLACES LIKE SAN FRANCISCO AND NEW YORK HAVE A RELATIVELY GOOD REPUTATION IN THIS AREA.

RICHTER:

WELL, LET ME INJECT A STATEMENT AT THIS POINT, LOU, WHICH HAS A SEARING ON YOUR COMMENTS. A STATEMENT MAD BY LESTER GRANGER, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE NATIONAL URDAN LEAGUE WHEN WE SPOKE WITH HIM SOME TIME AGO IN HIS NEW YORK OFFICE.

GRANGER:

I'D LIKE TO SAY, FIRST OF ALL, THAT THE EXISTENCE OF A AREA OF HEAVY NEGRO RESIDENCE DOES NOT NECESSARILY PRODUCE A CONCOMITANT OF BAD RACE RELATIONS. THERE APPROPRIES TO THE PRODUCT OF THE PRODUCT OF

CITIES WHERE THERE ARE AREAS OF NEGRO CONCENTRATION, WHERE RELATIONSHIPS, ON THE SURFACE AT LEAST, ARE FAIRLY AMICABLE. IT TAKES SOMETHING MORE THAN THAT; IT TAKES A FEELING OF DEEP AGRIEVEMENT ON THE PART OF NEGROES, AND AN EXPLOITATION OF RACIAL PREJUDICE ON TH PART OF WHITES. THE REASON THAT CHICAGO IS A BAD TOWN IN TERMS OF RACE RELATIONS, AT THE PRESENT TIME, IS BECAUSE IN CHICAGO THERE ARE ELEMENTS WHICH ARE VERY ACTIVE IN ENCOURAGING ANTI-NEGRO FEELING. THERE ARE THE PROFESSIONAL RACE BAITERS, THE RACKETEERS IN RACE HATRED WHO MAKE A LIVING OUT OF IT IN CHICAGO. NOW, NEW YORK CITY, ON THE OTHER HAND, IS A TOWN WHERE THER IS ALMOST AS MUCH SEGREGATION OF NEGROES RESIDENTIALLY AS IN CHICAGO. CHICAGO IS ACTUALLY DESCRIBED AS THE MOST HIGHLY SEGREGATED CITY IN THE COUNTRY. BUT NEW YORK CITY IN MANY WAYS APPROACHES CHICAGO. BUT THERE HAS NEVER BEEN THE INTENSITY OF RACIAL ACRIMONY IN NEW YORK CITY THAT EXISTS IN, HAS EXISTED IN, CHICAGO INTERMITTENTLY EVER SINCE 1915. THE REASON, OF COURSE IS THE DIFFERENT CLIMATE IN NEW YORK CITY. NEW YORK NATURALLY A MORE COSMOPOLITAN CITY AND NEW YORK CITY HAS NOT BEEN THE TERMINAL POINT FOR SO MANY OF THE RACKETEERS IN RACE HATRED COMING DIRECT FROM MISSISSIF FROM ALABAMA. THOSE BOYS GO UP THE MISSISSIPPI. AND THEY END UP IN ST. LOUIS, OR CHICAGO, OR THE MIDDLE WEST, DETROIT. NEW YORK CITY GETS THE EAST COAST MI-GRATION AND FEELINGS IN THE EAST COAST HAVE NEVER BEEN AS RAW AS NAKEDLY VIRULENT AMONG THE SOUTHERN WHITES A THEY HAVE BEEN AMONG SOUTHERN WHITES IN THE DEEP CENT? SOUTH.

SCHNEIDER:

ONE COULD GO ON FAIRLY INDEFINITELY MAKING DISTINCTION OF THE KIND MR. GRANGER SUGGESTS. BUT, RECOGNIZING THAT REFINEMENTS AND ELABORATIONS OF VARIOUS KINDS ARE POSSIBLE, LET ME, STILL IN ANSWER TO YOUR QUESTION, CITE A CASE OF A SOMEWHAT SPECIAL ORDER ... THE CASE OF LOS ANGELES ON THE JEST COAST. NEGRO MIGRATION TO THE WEST COAST CITIES IS A VERY RECENT THING. AND, IN THE CASE OF A CITY LIKE LOS ANGELES, YOU DO HAVE SOME RATHER SPECIAL DEVELOPMENTS. THE NEGRO ON THE WEST COAST IS NOT ALONE IN BEING NEW. OTHER PEOPLE ARE NEW ALSO. MANY ANGELENOS ARE INDIVIDUALS OF RECE MIGRATION. YOU MIGHT ALMOST SAY THAT EVERYBODY: IS A FOREIGNER, AND THERE HAS NOT BEEN THE KIND OF PRECIPI TATION OF ATTITUDES THAT YOU HAVE IN OLDER COMMUNITIE. OF THE COUNTRY. THE SITUATION IS, THEREFORE, A SOMEWHAT UNIQUE ONE FOR THE NEGRO. AT THE SAME TIME THIS DOESN'T MEAN THAT THE NEGRO HAS HAD AN ESPECIALL' EASY TIME OF IT IN LOS ANGELES. IF LOS ANGELES IS SOMEWHAT SPECIAL, ITS CASE NEVERTHELESS REVEALS FEATU. THAT ARE QUITE GENERAL. THUS, WE GET DIFFICULTIES DEVELOPING IN SITUATIONS WHEREIN NEGROES MOVE INTO PREVIOUSLY RESTRICTED AREAS, IN THE SUBURBS AS WELL A IN THE CITY PROPER.

RICHTER:

AND WHAT OF ANOTHER PROBLEM CONNECTED WITH THE CHANGIN POPULATION PICTURE OF THE LARGE CITIES? THE MATTER OF THE SUBURBANWARD MOVEMENT OF WHITES?

SCHNEIDER:

WELL, AS THE NEGRO POPULATION IN THE URBAN AREAS HAS GROWN....AS PROPORTION OF NEGROES IN THE CITIES HAS INCREASED. THERE HAS BEEN A PRETTY CLEAR TENDENCY FOR THE PROPORTION OF NEGROES IN THE SUBURBAN AREAS OF THE LARGER CENTERS TO DECLINE IN RECENT YEARS. ONE MAY SAY, GENERALLY, THAT THE MOVE TO THE SUBURBS WHICH IS VERY REAL, IS A WHITE MOVE. MOREOVER, IT IS A MOVE OF THE PART OF HIGHER INCOME WHITES. THE HIGHER INCOME WHITES TEND TO GO TO THE SUBURBS, THE LOWER INCOME WHITES. THE HIGHER INCOME WHITES TEND TO GO TO THE SUBURBS, THE LOWER INCOME WHITES TO REMAIN IN THE C CENTERS OF THE CITIES. THIS HAS MANY INTERESTING CONSEQUENCES. AMONG THE MOST IMPORTANT FOR THE NEGRO IS THIS: RELEVANT STUDIES HAVE INDICATED TIME AND AGA THAT PREJUDICE AGAINST NON-WHITES IS MORE LIKELY TO BE ENTERTAINED BY LOWER INCOME THAN BY HIGHER INCOME GROUPS. HENCE, THE INCREASINGLY NEGRO POPULATION IN THE LARGER CITIES INCREASINGLY FINDS ITSELF SIDE BY SIDE WITH THE RELATIVELY MORE PREJUDICED SEGMENTS OF THE WHITE POPULATION. THIS IS SURELY ONE OF THE MORE SIGNIFICANT FACTORS IN THE NEGRO'S PRESNET DAY URBAN SITUATION.

RICHTER:

You're working on the notion, I take it, that in this case prejudice is likely to go along with discrimination. That lower income prejudiced whites will practice discrimination against the Negro, try to deep hisealed in the black-belt areas, and so on.

SCHNEIDER:

YES, I THINK IT'S A FAIR ASSUMPTION IN THIS CASE.

RICHTER:

LET'S RETURN TO THE FIRST AND MOST GENERAL OF THE QUESTIONS THAT I ASKED A WHILE AGO ABOUT THE EFFECTS OF THE RAPID INCREASE OF THE NEGRO POPULATION UPON THE CITIES.

SCHNEIDER:

I'LL TRY TO ANSWER IT IN PART. THE NEGRO GENERALLY FACES THE PROBLEM OF HOUSING SHORTAGES, AS WE ALREADY KNOW; OF CORRESPONDINGLY VERY EXPENSIVE HOUSING; THE PROBLEMS GIVEN HIM 3Y HARD-POINTS OF BREAK-THROUGH TO FIND LIVING SPACE AND LIVING QUARTERS. THERE ARE A THOUSAND AND ONE ADDITIONAL PROBLEMS HAVING TO DO WIT RELATIONS TO ONE'S NEIGHBORS; WITH RELATIONS TO SHOP-KEEPERS, WITH SCHOOLING. AS THESE LARGE URBAN NEGRO AGGLOMERATIONS APPEAL, IT HAS DEEN OBSERVED THAT THOUSANDS UPON THOUSANDS OF NEGROES GO THROUGH THEIR LIVES WITHOUT ANY SUBSTANTIAL CONTACT WITH MEMBERS OF THE WHITE COMMUNITY. THE EFFECT IS OFTEN THAT OF A RIVEN SOCIETY, A SOCIETY SPLIT ALONG COLOR LINES, A

SOCIETY MORE AND MORE WITHOUT CONTACT DETWEEN ITS DIFFERENTLY COLORED HUMAN PARTS. CERTAINLY, CONTACT BRINGS ITS OWN PROBLEMS. BUT, IF CONTACT IS AVOIDED ELIMINATED, THERE SIMPLY IS NO CHANCE FOR THE GROWTH OF MUTUALLY ACCOMMODATIVE HABITS, PRACTICES, AND INSTITUTIONS.

RICHTER:

THAT SOUNDS RATHER GENERAL AND ABSTRACT. AS I UNDERSTAND YOU, YOU'RE DESCRIBING A SITUATION IN OUR BIGGED CITIES IN WHICH NEGROES AND WHITES HAVE NOT MANAGED TO CREATE A KIND OF SMOOTH-FLOWING SOCIAL SET-UP. TO A LARGE EXTENT, THEY'RE OUT OF TOUCH, AND WITHOUT BRIDGED ETWEEN THEM I SUPPOSE VARIOUS KINDS OF PROBLEMS ARISED NOW, CAN WE BE CONCRETE? YOU'VE SAID THERE ISN'T MUCH CHANCE FOR THE GROWTH OF MUTUALLY ACCOMMODATIVE HABIT PRACTICES, AND INSTITUTIONS. THAT'S RATHER A MOUTHFUL WHAT DOES IT MEAN, SAY, IN TERMS OF EVERYDAY RELATIONS

SCHNEIDER:

I'VE SPOKEN MORE THAN ONCE WITH FRIENDS LIVING IN SOME OF OUR LARGER CITIES WHO HAVE INDICATED THE SPECIAL DIFFICULTIES ARISING FROM THE RIVENNESS....THE SPLIT-NESS I'VE MENTIONED. FRIENDS WILL INDICATE THEIR WIL: INGNESS...THEIR ENTIRE WILLINGNESS....IN PRINCIPLE, TO LIVE IN MIXED NEIGHBORHOODS. BUT HOW SHALL THEY COPE WITH SOME OF THE PROBLEMS THAT INEVITABLY ARISE? CH! REN Have THEIR ORDINARY TROUBLES AND DISAGREEMENTS ON THE STREETS. SOMEONE'S EYE GETS BLACKENED. How Does ONE TAKE UP THIS, OR A MORE SERIOUS THING, WITH A NEGRO NEIGHBOR? PERHAPS THIS SORT OF BUSINESS ISN'T EASY IN ANY CASE, BUT NOW IT BECOMES FURTHER COMPLI-CATED BECAUSE ONE IS AFRAID OF BEING SUSPECTED OF A FEELING OF PREJUDICE HE REALLY DOESN'T HAVE. ONE IS ALSO AFRAID OF AROUSING SPECIAL SENSITIVITIES ON THE PART OF HIS NEGRO NEIGHBOR. IT'S DIFFICULT, INORDIN-ATELY DIFFICULT, TO KNOW WHAT TO DO. AND THE NEGRO. FOR HIS PART, IS ALSO PERPLEXED AND CONFUSED. MIGHT HE CREATE THE IMPRESSION OF A DISLIKE OR HOSTILITY HE DOESN'T REALLY FEEL? OR, IF HE IS ESPECIALLY ANGRY, HOW SHALL HE BEST GIVE EXPRESSION TO THAT ANGER. MAYBE IT WOULD BE DANGEROUS FOR HIM TO SPEAK AND ACT IN CERTAIN WAYS. OF COURSE, THIS IS AN ILLUSTRATION INVOLVING RELATIVELY SMALL DIFFICULTIES. YOU CAN GET MURDEROUS ANTAGONISMS, NOURISHED BY LONGSTANDING HOS-TILE FEELINGS. WHERE THERE ARE NO RULES TO ORGANIZE THE RELATIONSHIP OF PEOPLE TO ONE ANOTHER, ALMOST ANYTHING MIGHT HAPPEN. PEOPLE LITERALLY DON'T KNOW HOW TO ACT. SINCE THERE ARE NO PRECEDENTS, NO STAND-ARDS FOR ACTION, BEHAVIOR BECOMES UNPREDICTABLE. AND IT MAY EVEN BECOME EXPLOSIVE. AND WE COME CLOSE ENOUGH TO A SITUATION LIKE THIS IN THE RELATIONS OF WHITES TO NEGROES IN OUR MAJOR CITIES. WITHOUT RULES AND STANDARDS FOR ACTION, WITH A HERITAGE OF HOSTILITY WITH CONTINUED CUTTING OFF OF NEGROES FROM WHITES, YOU GET, IN A WAY, A SET-UP IN WHICH THERE IS NO SOCIAL

FABRIC TO WEAVE WHITES AND NEGROES TOGETHER. WHAT I'S TALKING ABOUT IS REALLY A PROBLEM OF BRINGING NEGROES AND WHITES WITHIN THE SCOPE OF ONE GENERAL CIVILIZATION OR SOCIETY.

RICHTER:

THIS IS ANOTHER PROBLEM THAT SOUNDS AS THOUGH IT WON'DE SOLVED OVERNIGHT. BUT, LET'S RETURN FOR A BIT TO SOME OF THE THINGS WE WERE SPEAKING ABOUT EARLIER IN THE PROGRAM. THE INTERNATIONAL MIGRATIONS WITH WHICH WE BEGAN....THE MIGRATIONS FROM EUROPE TO AMERICA OF IRISH, GERMANS, SCANDINAVIANS, ENGLISH, POLES, ITALIANS, AND OTHERS, AFTER ALL, LANDED VAST NUMBERS OF PEOPLE OF THESE NATIONALITIES IN OUR LARGER URBAN CENTERS ALSO. IT'S ALL VERY WELL TO SAY, AS WE'VE DONE, THAT THE NEGRO IS THE LAST MIGRANT. BUT I TAKE IT THAT THERE ARE SPECIAL FEATURES OF HIS MOVEMENT TO AND RESIDENCE IN, THE LARGE CITIES THAT DISTINGUISH HISSITUATION FROM THAT OF THE OLDER MIGRANTS, WHO MUS HAVE BEGUN WITH A SITUATION MUCH LIKE THE NEGRO'S.

SCHNEIDER:

YES, CERTAINLY THEY DID. BUT THESE OLDER MIGRANTS LACKED WHAT ONE OF THE OLD-TIME CHICAGO SOCIOLOGISTS. AT LEAST ROBERT E. PARK, CALLED "HIGH VISIBILITY." THEY LACKED THE NEGRO'S HIGH VISIBILITY. WHEN I WAS DISCUSSING THE NEGRO MIGRATION MATTER IN THE PERSPEC-TIVE OF THE OLD AND NEW MIGRATION, I MIGHT HAVE IND-ICATED THAT, AS THE CHICAGO SOCIOLOGISTS OF A GENERA-TION AGO ALREADY KNEW VERY WELL, THERE IS SOMETHING THAT IS QUITE DISTINCTIVE ABOUT THE NEGRO MIGRATION, WHICH I MIGHT PUT IN THIS WAY: WHEN OLDER MIGRANTS CAME IN--OLDER THAN THE NEGRO THAT IS--CAME INTO THE CENTERS OF OUR LARGE CITIES, JUST OUTSIDE THE FACTORY DISTRICTS -- WHERE THEIR HOUSING WAS POOR, THEY WERE ABLE TO MOVE IN TIME. IT MIGHT PERHAPS TAKE A COUPLE OF GENERATIONS, MAYBE THREE GENERATIONS EVEN, OR FOUR FOR, LET'S SAY, A TYPICAL POLISH FAMILY TO MOVE FROM JUST OUTSIDE THE LOOP IN CHICAGO TO ONE OF THE SUBUR-BAN AREAS, WITH PERHAPS A COMPLETE NAME CHANGE AT THE END OF THE PROCESS, AND VERY CONSIDERABLE INCREASE OF INCOME ON THE PART OF THE LATEST MEMBER OF THE PARTI-CULAR POLISH FAMILY, BUT, THE POINT IS THAT THE WHITE DID MOVE OUT. THEY VERY DEFINITELY TENDED TO MOVE OUT, AND THEY COULD MOVE OUT. AND THEIR NATIONAL ORIGIN WAS--SHALL | PUT THIS SOMEWHAT ARCHLY? -- THEIR NATIONAL WAS, IN MANY WAYS, FORGIVEN THEM. IT WASN'T HELD AGAINST THEM TOO MUCH. THEY SIMPLY MOVED OUT, THEN, WITHOUT ANY OVERWHELMINGLY ANTAGONISTIC IDENTI-FICATION OF THEM BY OTHERS, AS POLES, IRISH, GREEKS, AND SO ON. BUT THE NEGRO WAS NOT CAPABLE OF DOING THIS. AND IS NOT CAPABLE OF DOING IT TODAY. THE NEGRO HAS THE PARTICULAR PIGMENTATION HE HAS, AND THE IS AN IDENTIFYING MARK HE DOES NOT READILY LOSE, AND IS UNDOUBTEDLY ONE OF THE THINGS OF TREMENDOUS IMPOR . . ANCE THAT HAVE TENDED TO KEEP HIM WHERE HE OFTEN ORIGINALLY LANDS....IN THE BLACK BELTS OF OUR LARGER CITIES. THIS DOESN'T MEAN THAT THE NEGRO DOESN'T MOVE AT ALL. IT DOESN'T MEAN THAT HE MOVES ONLY THROUGH THE EXPANSION OF THE BLACK BELTS. HE MAY TAKE IT ON HIMSELF TO MOVE, NOT WITH THE MASS PRESSING ON THE EDGES OF THE BLACK BELTS, BUT ON OTHER LINES. HOWEVER, THERE ARE BLACK BLOCKS EVERYWHERE. YET, WHEREVER THE NEGRO MOVES, HE HAS TO WEAVE IN AND OUT AMONG DIFFERENT BEGREGATED AREAS IN CITIES AND SUBURDS.

RICHTER:

BY THE WAY, IS IT TRUE THAT THE EARLEER MIGRANTS LIVE UNDER MORE OR LESS THE SAME SLUM CONDITIONS WHICH THE NEGRO NOW EXPERIENCES IN THE CENTERS OF THE BIGGER CITIES, AND WEREN'T CHARGES LEVELLED AGAINST THE OLDER EUROPEAN MIGRANTS THAT ARE LEVELLED AGAINST THE NEGRO TODAY? CH. RGES OF SLOVENLINESS, DISEASE, AND UNDESIRED SOCIAL QUALITIES IN GENERAL?

SCHNEIDER:

THINK IT'S QUITE ACCURATE TO ANSWER THE QUESTION " THE AFFIRMATIVE. I MENTIONED ROBERT E. PARKS BEFORE AND I MIGHT RECALL THAT AN OLDER GENERATION OF CHICA SOCIAL SCIENTISTS PRODUCED A NUMBE OF RATHER VIVID WORKS ABOUT THEIR CITY, MAKING POINTS THAT HAVE A CERTAIN RELEVANCE TO THE CASE OF THE NEGRO TODAY. THE CHICAGO SOCIOLOGISTS NOTED THE TENDENCY OF NEW IMMIGRANT GROUPS TO CONCENTRATE JUST OUTSIDE THE FACTORY AREA OF THE CITY....OUTSIDE THE LOOP, IN THE CASE OF CHICAGO. THEY USED TO REMARK THE HIGH INDI-DENCE OF VARIOUS SO-CALLED PATHOLOGIES JUST OUTSIDE THE LOOP AREA....PATHOLOGIES EXEMPLIFIED BY HIGH SUI CIDE RATES, HIGH RATES OF CERTAIN KINDS OF MENTAL ILLNESS, AND SO CN. SUCCESSIVELY, AS VARIOUS IMMI-GRANT GROUPS MOVED OUT FROM THE CENTER OF THE CITY.. POLES OR GREEKS, OR TRISH, OR WHOEVER IT MIGHT BE, THEY DID NOT CARRY THE HIGH RATES WITH THEM. THE HIGH RATES CHARACTERIZED THE AREA AND NOT THE PEOPLE THIS SUGGESTS THAT IF THE NEGRO ENJOYED THE SAME RELATIVE EASE IN MOVING OUT AND OBTAINING HIGHER INCOME, BETTER JOB SITUATIONS, BETTER RESIDENCES, MORE ELEVATED STATUS, HIS EXPERIENCE WOULD DUPLICATE THAT OF THE EARLIER IMMIGRANT GROUPS. ONCE AGAIN, THE NEGRO'S MOVEMENT IS DECIDEDLY MORE RESTRICTED AT DIFFICULT, AND TO THE EXTENT THAT THIS IS SO, THE NEGRO IS SIMPLY NOT GIVEN THE CHANCE TO DEMONSTRATE THAT IN HIS CASE, TOO, THE PATHOLOGIES MAY NOT BE PROPER TO THE PEOPLE, BUT TO A CERTAIN TYPE OF LIVI AREA.

RICHTER:

I NOTICE AN INTERESTING THING, LOU, ABOUT THE PROB-LEMS WE'VE BEEN DISCUSSING FOR THE PAST TEN OR FIF-TEEN MINUTES. WE'VE MENTIONED THIS MATTER OF HIGHE INCOME AND LESS PREJUDICED WHITES MOVING TO THE SUBURBS, LEAVING LOWER INCOME AND MORE PREJUDICED WHITES IN THE CITY. Je've STRESSED THE ISOLATION OF NEGROES FROM WHITES, AND ALONG WITH THAT THE ABSENCE OF A SOCIAL FABRIC BINDING WHITES AND NEGROES TOGETH WITHIN THE SAME GENERAL CIVILIZATION OR SOCIETY. We've just now stressed that this matter of the PATH OLOGY OF THE AREA HAS SOME APPLICATION TO THE CASE OF THE PRESENT DAY NEGRO. Now, IT SEEMS TO ME THAT ONE COULD EASILY BECOME QUITE PESSIMISTIC ABOUT THE ENTIPICTURE WE'VE PAINTED TODAY. THESE DON'T LOOK LIKE PROBLEMS THAT ARE EASY TO RESOLVE. THEY HAVE TO DOWNITH MAJOR FORCES AND CHANGES IN OUR SOCIETY. HOW

SCHNEIDER:

THE POINT IS EXTREMELY WELL TAKEN, WALT. I WISH I COULD DISCUSS IT IN DETAIL. I CAN MAKE TWO GENERAL COMMENTS, HOWEVER. ONE IS THAT THESE AND OTHER PRODUCTS. THEY CAN'T BE READILY RESOLVED BY INDIVIDUAL GOOD WILL, ALTHOUGH INDIVIDUAL GOOD WILL WILL NEVER HURT. THEY REQUIRE JOME DEGREE OF PLANNING, THEY REQUIRE POLITICAL ACTION, THEY REQUIRE THE ATTENTION PRECISELY TO SOME OF THE MAJOR REALITIES COUR PRESENT DAY AMERICAN SOCIETY. THEY REQUIRE IMAGINATION, AND SKILL, AND COURAGE. THE OTHER COMMENT OF A GENERAL NATURE THAT I WOULD LIKE TO MAKE IS THAT AS WE BEGIN TO PENETRATE THESE THINGS AND UNDERSTAND THEM BETTER, THE PROBLEMS THAT THEY PRESENT MAY GET TO APPEAR SIMPLER. IT MAY BE, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT THE INTERDEPENDENT-SPIRAL PHENOMENON TO WHICH WE'VE REFERRED BEFORE WILL BE ILLUMINATING AND APPLICABLE IN MORE WAYS THAN WE NOW REALIZE.

RICHTER:

IN OTHER WORDS, SOME OF THE ELEMENTS IN THE URBAN SITUATION AND URBAN PROBLEMS, WHEN WORKED ON IN A CERTAIN WAY, MAY "PULL UP" OTHER ELEMENTS AND AFFECT AN ALL-AROUND BENEFICIAL CHANGE WITHOUT OUR HAVING TO SWEAT OUT EVERY SINGLE DIFFICULT PROBLEM ON ITS OWN GROUND, AND EXCLUSIVELY ON ITS OWN TERMS. AND WE MAY GET TO SEE THAT THIS KIND OF THING HAS EVEN LARGER SCOPE THAN WE NOW BELIEVE.

SCHNEIDER: YES, THAT IS THE SORT OF THING I HAD IN MIND.

RICHTER: IT IS REASONABLE, THEN, TO SAY THAT THOUGH THESE
MATTERS WE'VE BEEN DISCUSSING TODAY PRESENT THORNY
QUESTIONS, YOU'RE NOT READY TO YIELD TO PESSIMISM?

SCHNEIDER: IT IS REASONABLE.

RICHTER: On that note let us end our discussion of migration and urbanization of the Negro, and be prepared to move into other areas in following programs. Next

WEEK WE WILL TAKE UP THE SUBJECT OF THE NEGRO IN THE LABOR MARKET, AS WE CONTINUE TO DISCUSS THE WORLD OF "THE LAST CITIZEN."

THEME UP AND UNDER MUSIC:

ANNCR:

You have been distening to Dr. Louis Schneider, Professor of Sociology at Purpue University, and the PROGRAM'S PRODUCER-DIRECTOR, E. W. RICHTER, AS THEY DISCUSS "THE LAST CITIZEN." THIS PROGRAM WAS PRODUCE AND RECORDED BY WARA, PURDUE UNIVERSITY, UNDER A GRANT FROM THE EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION AND RADIO CENTER AND IS BEING DISTRIBUTED BY THE N ATIONAL

ASSOCIATION OF EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTERS.

MUSIC: THEME UP TO FINISH

ANNCR: THIS IS THE NAED RADIO NETWORK.

THE LAST CITIZEN

PROGRAM #10
"THE CITY " PART 2
(NEGRO LABOR)

LOGAN: Today the outlook of the Negro worker is consider-

CENTURY.

SOBEL: . . . AND BY HOLDING THE NEGRO DOWN INTO UN SKILLED AREAS, WE ARE RAPIDLY, IN MANY MAJOR AREAS, RENDERIN

THE NEGRO UNEMPLOYABLE, OR AT BEST EMPLOYABLE ON ONL

A CASUAL, BUT NOT A PERMANENT BASIS.

MUSIC: STINGER

ANNOR: THESE ARE A FEW OF THE COMMENTS YOU WILL HEAR DURING THE NEXT HALF HOUR AS WE EXPLORE THE SITUATION OF TH NEGRO WORKER IN "THE CITY," IN DISCUSSING "THE LAST

CITIZEN. "

MUSIC: STINGER

RICHTER:

NNOR: THE LAST CITIZEN: THE NEGRO IN AMERICA. A SERIES C PROGRAMS DEVOTED TO THE EXTENSION OF OUR KNOWLEDGE C THE LANGEST MINORITY GROUP IN THE UNITED STATES, ITS PROBLEMS, AND PROBLEMS IT POSES TO ALL AME ICANS. THE LAST CITIZEN IS PRODUCED BY RADIO STATION WBAA,

Purdue University, under a grant from the Educational Television and Radio Center, in cooperation with the National Association of Educational Broadcasters. The discussants are the Producer of the Series, E. Richter, and Dr. Louis Schneider, Professor of Sociology at Purdue University. Today's program: "The

CITY AND THE WORKER."

THROUGHOUT OUR SERIES HAS BEEN THE INTERDEPENDENCE € THE VARIOUS FACETS OF THE SOCIAL LIFE OF THE NEGRO.

∀E KNOW, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT THE NEGRO'S HOUSING, HIS

ONE OF THE POINTS WE HAVE CONTINUALLY STRESSED

EDUCATION, HIS INCOME, HIS POLITICAL ASPIRATIONS ARE AFFECTED BY HIS EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES....JUST AS ALL THESE THINGS AFFECT ONE ANOTHER. TODAY WE TAKE UP THE QUESTION OF NEGRO EMPLOYMENT....A CRUCIAL FACTOR IN THE INTERRELATED FACTORS THAT SET THE

NEGRO'S CONDITIONS OF LIFE.

SCHNEIDER: I would suggest, Walt, that we treat this considerable topic by touching on several main things. A brief historical introduction to the situation of

THE PRESENT-DAY NEGRO WORKER WOULD BE A USEFUL THING THEN, I THINK, IT WOULD BE A GOOD IDEA TO TURN TO TO

Negro's present day overall employment situation, with perhaps a few words on some special local conditions. And finally, if we turn to endeavors that have been made in the past few years, particularly since World Jar Two, to help the Negro in his employment situation, we should have a reasonably rounded brief view of the subject we're trying to tackle.

RICHTER:

Following your suggestion then, Lou, I Don't THINK WE COULD DO MUCH BETTER THAN TO TURN, ONCE AGAIN, TO DR RAYFORD W. LOGAN, PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AT HOWARD UNIVERSITY, WHO DISCUSSES SIGNIFICANT FEATURES OF TH NEGRO'S LABOR SITUATION SINCE THE END OF THE CIVIL WAR.

LOG N:

LABOR HAD NOT IN THIS PERIOD IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE CIVIL WAR ACHIEVED THE STRONG POSITION WHICH IT NOW HAS. THE NATIONAL LABOR UNION DEBATED FROM 1866 TO 1869 WHAT IT SHOULD DO WITH THIS NEW CONTINGENT OF WORKERS. LOOKING BACK WE WOULD SAY THAT MHITE WORKE SHOULD HAVE WELCOMED AN IMPLEMENT IN THE FORM OF NEW WORKERS, EVEN THOUGH THEY BE BLACK, IN THEIR STRUGG! FOR BETTER WORKING CONDITIONS, HIGHER SALARIES FOR WORKING MEN. BUT PREJUDICE PREVAILED, CUSTOM PRE-VAILED. AND SO IN 1869 THE NATIONAL LABOR UNION VOTED TO HELP NEGROES TO ORGANIZE BUT IN SEPARATE UNIONS. IN 1869, THEN, NEGROES ORGANIZED THE COLORE NATIONAL LABOR UNION. THIS UNION, LIKE THE NATIONAL LABOR UNION, DISAPPEARED LARGELY AFTER THE CRISIS OF 1873. There then emerged the Knights of Labor which SOME PERSONS CALLED A RADICAL ORGANIZATION, CALLED ITS MEMBERS BLACK ANARCHISTS, AND IN GENERAL SUCCEES ED IN MAKING IT HAVE THE IMAGE OF A SUBVERSIVE ORGA? IZATION. BUT THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR DID MAKE AN ATTEMPT BOTH IN THE SOUTH AND IN THE NORTH TO HAVE SOME OF ITS UNIONS INCLUDE BLACK AND WHITE WORKERS.

THE YEAR 1886 WAS A CRUCIAL YEAR IN THE HISTOR OF LABOR IN THIS COUNTRY. IN THAT YEAR THERE WAS ORGANIZED THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR WHICH, BECAUSE OF THE ASSOCIATION OF THE PREDOMINANT POSI-TION OF LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES. BUT THE LEADER. OF THE A F OF L WERE MOSTLY EUROPEANS WHO WERE INTE. ESTED IN SKILLED WORKERS. NOW, IN 1886 MOST SKILLED WORKERS WERE WHITE MEN. WE ARE NOT SAYING, THEN, THAT THEY WERE NECESSARILY PREJUDICED AGAINST WOMEN OR THAT THEY WERE NECESSARILY PREJUDICED AGAINST NEGRO WORKERS. THAT WAS THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE LABC MOVEMENT, REPEATEDLY EXPRESSED BY SAMUEL GOMPERS AN OTHERS. BY THE LATTER PART OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR HAD GONE OUT OF EXISTENCE. PERHAPS BECAUSE OF THIS STRONGER POSITION WHICH THE A F OF L THEN HAD, ITS GENERAL CONVENTION IN 1900 AUTHORIZED EACH NATIONAL AFFILIATE TO DETERMINE POWERFUL ORGANIZATIONS SUCH THE MACHINISTS, AND THE

RAILWAY BROTHERHOODS, WOULD NOT PERMIT NEGROES TO ENTER UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES. ONE OR TWO, LIKE THE STEVEDORES, EVEN IN NEW ORLEANS, HAD MIXED, OR WHAT WE TODAY CALL INTERGRATED, UNIONS. A FEW LIKE THE CARPENTERS, THE PAPERHANGERS, AND THE LIKE, ORGANIZE NEGROES IN SEPARATE TRADE UNIONS. BUT AGAIN AT THE BEGINNING OF THIS CENTURY, LABOR ITSELF WAS NOT STRONG--POLITICALLY OR ECONOMICALLY OR AS A PRESSURE

GROUP.

TODAY THE OUTLOOK OF THE NEGRO WORKER IS CONSIDE ABLY BRIGHTER THAN IT WAS AT THE BEGINNING OF THIS CENTURY. Now, TWO OF THE PRINCIPLE REASONS FOR THIS IMPROVED OUTLOOK OF NEGRO WORKERS, "HETHER HE BE IN ORGANIZED UNIONS OR NOT, ARE THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE First ANDSecond World War. Perhaps a Million Negroe MOVED FROM THE SOUTH ATLANTIC STATES, PARTICULARLY, INTO THE INDUSTRIAL CITIES OF THE NORTH. LARGE NUMBERS MOVED FROM RURAL AREAS IN THE SOUTH TO URBA. AREAS. THEIR CONDITIONS OF LIVING WERE GENERALLY BETTER THAN THEY HAD BEEN IN THEIR PREVIOUS HOMES. DURING FORLD WAR! II AND AFTERWARDS, PERHAPS ANOTHER MILLION MOVED, THIS TIME PARTICULARLY FROM THE Southwestern States up along the Pacific Coast. ALREADY IN 1935 THERE HAD BEEN ORGANIZED THE CONGRES OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS, THE CIO. FOR VARIOUS REASON THE CIO WAS MORE LIBERAL IN ITS MEMBERSHIP POLICY THAN WAS THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR EVE AT THAT TIME. AS THE CIO INCREASED IN NUMBER AND IN POWER BECAUSE OF THE LARGE NUMBER OF WOMEN WORKERS AND NEGRO WORKERS, THE A F OF L BEGAN TO LIBERALIZE ITS POLICIES.

ON JUNE 25, 1941, PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT ISSUED HIS FAMOUS EXECUTIVE ORDER, 8802, DESIGNED TO PRO-HIBIT DISCRIMINATION IN THE WAR INDUSTRIES ON ACCOUNT OF RACE, COLOR, RELIGION, OR NATIONAL ORIGIN. TRAD UNIONS THEMSELVES BEGAN TO TAKE A MORE LIBERAL ATTITUDE TOWARD NEGRO WORKERS. THEN, JUMPING DOWN TO A PERIOD OF JUST ABOUT THREE YEARS AGO, THESE TW GIANT FEDERATIONS, THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND THE CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS, MERGE ONE OF THEIR FIRST OBJECTIVES WAS TO INCREASE MEMBE: SHIP FROM FIFTEEN MILLION TO THIRTY MILLION. THAT OBJECTIVE HAS NOT BEEN ACHIEVED LARGELY BECAUSE OF ADAMANT OPPOSITION ON THE PART OF WHITE WORKERS, INCLUDING SOME IN THE TRADE UNIONS IN THE SOUTHERN STATES. ON THE WHOLE, HOWEVER, ONE MAY SAY THAT MORE NEGRO WORKERS TODAY, ABSOLUTELY AND COMPARATIVE LY, HAVE BETTER JOBS, AT HIGHER SALARIES, WITH BETTE OPPORTUNITIES FOR PROMOTION, THAN THEY HAD EVEN BEFORE THE OUTBREAK OF FORLD WAR II. AND THERE ARE THOSE WHO BELIEVE THAT THE NEGRO WORKER WILL CONTIN-

TO IMPROVE HIS POSITION.

SCHNEIDER:

DR. LOGAN ENDS ON A RATHER OPTIMISTIC NOTE, ALTHOUGH HIS ENTIRE STATEMENT IS SUCH AS TO SUGGEST SOME MISGIVINGS ABOUT THE GENERAL EMPLOYMENT SITUATION O THE NEGRO. IN FACT, AT PRESENT AND TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE SITUATION THAT HAS PREVAILED SINCE THE END OF WORLD WAR II, THERE IS A GOOD DEAL OF EVIDENC TO SHOW THAT VERY SERIOUS PROBLEMS ATTEND THE WHOLE QUESTION OF NEGRO EMPLOYMENT. LET ME GIVE ONE SOME. WHAT ARBITRARY, BUT | THINK SIGNIFICANT, EXAMPLE OF THE KIND OF THING I MEAN. I TURN TO A FEW FIGURES FROM THE SAN FRANCISCO-OAKLAND STANDARD METROPOLITAL AREA IN 1950 - FIGURES RECENT ENOUGH FOR OUR PURPOSE TODAY. I USE DATA COMING FROM THE U. S. CENSUS. IF THIS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT WEST COAST AREA, OF TOTAL EMPLOYED MALE WORKERS (MINORITY AND NON-MINORITY) IN 1950, 10.7% WERE IN PROFESSIONAL, TECHNICAL, AND KINDRED JOBS, BUT ONLY 2.1% OF NEGRO WORKERS HAD SUC JOBS. IGAIN, 13.9% OF THE TOTAL EMPLOYED MALE WORKERS WERE NON-FARM MANAGERS, PROPRIETORS AND OFFICIALS, BUT ONLY 2.6% OF THE NEGRO WORKERS WERE OCCUPIED. ON THE OTHER HAND, 8.4% OF THE TOTAL MALE WORKERS WERE LABORERS (EXCEPT ON FARMS AND IN MINES WHILE 36% OF THE NEGRO WORKERS WERE LABORERS. IT'S INTERESTING, ALSO, THAT FOREIGN-BORN MEXICANS HAD A JOB DISTRIBUTION PATTERN SOMEWHAT LIKE THAT OF NEGR FILIPINOES ALSO HAD VERY LOW REPRESENTATION IN THE "BETTER JOBS," AND WERE HEAVILY EMPLOYED AS SERVICE WORKERS. CHINESE WERE LIKEWISE HEAVILY EMPLOYED AS SERVICE WORKERS, BUT THEY WERE STRONGLY REPRESENTED IN THE CATEGORY OF MANAGERS, OFFICIALS, AND PROPRI-ETORS, AND WERE THREE TIMES AS WELL REPRESENTED AS NEGROES IN THE CATEGORY OF PROFESSIONAL, TECHNICAL AND KINDRED WORKERS. Now, of course, some of these THINGS REFLECT WEST CO ST PECULIARITIES. IT WOULD BE INT RESTING TO TURN ASIDE AND LOOK INTO THEM IN DETAIL. BUT THE MAIN THING FOR US TO NOTICE IS THE SPECIAL SITUATION OF THE NEGRO BY COMPARISON WITH THAT OF THE TOTAL EMPLOYED POPULATION. NCTICE AGAIN NEGROES WERE ONLY 1/5 AS WELL REPRESENTED AS THE TOTAL POPULATION IN THE HIGH LEVEL PROFESSIONAL AND RELATED JOBS. THE WERE 1/5 AS WELL REPRESENTED IN THE CATEGORY OF MANAGERS, PROPRIETORS, AND OFFICIAL THEY WERE MORE THAN FOUR TIMES AS "WELL" REPRESENTE" IN THE CATEGORY OF LABORERS. NO MATTER HOW FAR FROM FINAL, FOR CERTAIN PURPOSES, THE STORY THAT FIGURES LIKE THESE MAY TELL US, THE FIGURES THEMSELVES YET ARE, ONE MIGHT SAY, MOST ELOQUENT.

RICHTER:

THAT IS A SIGNIFICANT SET-UP IN A LOCAL AREA. Now, I'D LIKE TO ARRANGE WHAT PHOTOGRAPHERS CALL A BLOW-UP. I BELIEVE THE SITUATION YOU'VE DESCRIBED IS GENERALIZABLE. LET'S GET IN SOME OF THE DIMENSIONS OF THE LARGER PICTURE. IN THE SUMMER OF 1958, DR. IRWIN SOBEL, ECONOMIST AT MASHINGTON UNIVERSITY, IN

St. Louis, Missouri, Made the follwoing comments to the annual institute of Race Relations at Fisk University.

SOBEL:

Now although the Negro has made advances in the last FIFTEEN TO TWENTY YEARS SINCE VORLD WAR II, IT MUST BE REMEMBERED THAT THE ENTIRE WHITE POPULATION HAS BEEN UPGRADED CONSIDERABLY. IN OTHER WORDS, IF WE TAKE OUR CENSUS CLASSIFICATIONS WE'LL SEE THAT THERE HAS BEEN A TREMENDOUS MOVEMENT OUT OF THE UNSKILLED AREAS EVEN A TREMENDOUS UPGRADING AT ALL LEVELS INTO THE SO-CALLED HIGHER OCCUPATIONAL BREAKDOWNS. Now. IF WE COMPARE THE NEGRO IN A VACUUM, WE CAN SAY THAT THERE HAVE BEEN SUBSTANTIAL ADVANCES. IF WE COMPARE THE NEGRO TO THE WHITE ADVANCES, THEN, AT BEST, THE NEGRO IS HOLDING HIS OWN. AND HE IS STILL IN THE MA! CONCENTRATED. ABOUT SEVEN OUT OF TEN NEGROES, ARE CONCENTRATED IN THE LAST TWO OR THREE OCCUPATIONAL BREAKDOWNS AS OPPOSED TO LESS THAN TWO OUT OF TEN WHITES IN THESE PARTICULAR AREAS. AND THE GREAT DANG OF THIS DEVELOPMENT IS THIS: THAT THE UNSKILLED LABOR AND THE UNSKILLED LABORER IS INCREASINGLY BECOMING AN UNSALABLE COMMODITY IN THE AMERICAN BY HOLDING THE NEGRO DOWN INTO THE UNSKILLED AREAS WE ARE RAPIDLY, I MANY MAJOR AREAS, RENDERING THE NEGRO UNEMPLOYABLE, OR AT BEST EMPLOYABLE ON ONLY A CASUAL, BUT NOT A PERMANENT. BASIS.

THE NEGRO IS STILL THE FIRST FIRED AND THE LAST HIRED AND I INDICATE TO MY STUDENTS THAT RATHER THAN ATTEMPT TO DEVISE ELABORATE BAROMETERS OF THE LEVEL OF BUSINESS ACTIVITY AND TRYING TO FORECAST TRENDS JUST WATCH WHAT IS HAPPENING TO THE EMPLOYMENT OF NEGROES, AND YOU'LL FIND THAT THREE OR FOUR MONTHS BEFORE WE ARE AWARE OF ANY GENERAL DOWNTURN, EMPLOY-MENT OF NEGROES ALREADY HAS STARTED TO TURN DOWN. INCIDENTALLY, THE UNEMPLOYMENT RATE OF NEGROES EVEN IN THE PROSPEROUS PERIOD ('55, '56 TO JUNE '57) WAS AT ALL TIMES A LEVEL OF EIGHT PERCENT HIGHER THAN THE WHITE UNEMPLOYMENT RATE; TODAY IN THE RECESSION ABOUT SIX AND A HALF TIMES PERCENT. SO THAT NEGROES, EVEN IN PROSPEROUS TIMES, EXPERIENCE A LEVEL OF UNEMPLOY-MENT THAT BY OUR OWN BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS SEEMS CRITICAL. NY AREA WITH OVER SIX PERCENT UNEMPLOYMEN IS AN AREA OF LABOR SURPLUS AND OVER EIGHT PERCENT WOULD PUT THEM INTO THE SUBSTANTIAL LABOR SURPLUS ARE So, IN THAT CONTEXT, MINORITY GROUPS SUFFER PERMANENT

SCHNEIDER:

RECESSION.

AS LONG AS WE'RE ENGAGING IN THE PHOTOGRAPHIC PROCESS OF "BLOWING UP," I'D LIKE TO ADD THAT THE FIGURES FOR SAN FRANCISCO WHICH I GAVE BEFORE, WERE REALLY NOT SERIOUSLY OUT OF LINE WITH THE FIGURES FOR THE WHOLE NATION....AGAIN ACCORDING TO 1950 CENSUS DATA. THUS,

FOR THE COUNTRY AS A WHOLE, 2.2% OF TOTAL EMPLOYED MALES AMONG NON-UNITES WERE PROFESSIONAL, TECHNICAL, AND KINDRED WORKERS. BUT THE COMPARABLE FIGURE FOR WHITES WAS 7.9%. TWO PERCENT OF THE NON-WHITE EMPLOY MALES WERE MANAGERS, OFFICIALS, AND PROPRIETORS (EXCEFARM), BUT 11.6% OF THE WHITES WERE SO LISTED. TWENT THREE POINT ONE PERCENT OF THE NON-WHITES WERE LABORE EXCEPT ON FARMS AND IN MINES, BUT NO MORE THAN 6.6% DITHE WHITES WERE SUCH LABORERS. NON-WHITES ARE, OF COURSE, VERY LARGELY NEGROES. AND THIS IS THEREFORE A GOOD ENOUGH DESCRIPTION OF CONTRASTS BETWEEN NEGROE AND WHITES IN TERMS OF OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION.

RICHTER:

WE NOW HAVE A PORTRAYAL OF HISTORICAL BACKGROUND, AND WE HAVE A FEW FEATURES OF THE STRUCTURE OF THE NEGRO'OCCUPATIONAL AND EMPLOYMENT SITUATION. I WONDER IF WE CAN SHIFT GEARS AT THIS POINT. LET'S TURN TO ONE OR TWO OF THE PROBLEMS IN CONNECTION WITH EMPLOYMENT AND WITH RELATIONS TO EMPLOYEES AND EMPLOYERS THAT THE NEGRO FACES. THERE ARE CERTAINLY NUMEROUS DIFFICULTIES HERE.

SCHNEIDER:

NOT THE LEAST OF THOSE DIFFICULTIES IS THE SHEER FACT THAT MANY PEOPLE ARE STILL PULLED IN DIFFERENT DIRECT IONS BY THE CASTE AND CLASS PRINCIPLES. THE CASTE PRINCIPLE SAYS IN EFFECT, " LE CAN'T ACCEPT THESE COLORED PEOPLE ON EQUAL TERMS. IT'S OUT OF THE QUESTION." THE CLASS PRINCIPLE SAYS, "WE'RE UNITED BY THE FACT THAT WE'RE ALL WORKERS FACING CERTAIN COMMON WORKING CONDITIONS." IF YOU UNITE. YOU OVER-LOOK COLOR. IF YOU DON'T UNITE, YOU MAY OVERLOOK COMMON ECONOMIC INTERESTS OF BLACK AND WHITE, TO NO MORE. ALTHOUGH THE CASTE PRINCIPLE STILL HAS APPRE-CIABLE POWER, WE HAVE TO REALIZE THAT. AS MYRDAL ALREADY KNEW IN THE FORTIES, WE ARE NOT DEALING WITH ABSOLUTELY FROZEN ATTITUDES ON THE PART OF WHITE WORKERS, IF WE ARE EVER JUSTIFIED IN SPEAKING OF FROZEN ATTUDES. WORKERS WHO TALK ONE WAY, A WAY THAT WOULD SUGGEST PREJUDICE AND READINESS TO DISCRIMINATE WILL SOMETIMES ACT ANOTHER WAY WHEN CONFRONTED WITH A SITUATION IN WHICH THEY FIND NEGROES ARE ALREADY WORKING WITH THEM. AND EMPLOYERS, FOR THEIR PART, IF THEY ARE MINDED TO END DISCRIMINATION, MAY DISCOVER IN PARTICULAR CASES JUST THIS OPENNESS, THIS FLEXI-BILITY, THIS FAILURE TO HOLD ON TO PREJUDICED ATTI-TO THE BITTER END. THERE ARE TIMES WHEN A LITTLE COURAGE WILL GO A LONG WAY, AND PRODUCE SURPRISING RESULTS. ALSO, OF COURSE, THE UNFROZENNESS, THE OPENNESS OF ATTITUDES GIVES GROUND FOR SOME OPTIMISM ABOUT THE WORK OF ACTION AGENCIES THAT HAVE THE OBJECT OF REDUCING EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION AGAINST NEGROES

RICHTER:

THERE IS MUCH THAT COULD STILL BE SAID ABOUT EMPLOYED AND EMPLOYER ATTITUDES TOWARD MATTERS OF DISCRIMINATION. NOW LET US LOOK AT A MEANS OF COPING WITH THE DISCRIMINATION PROBLEM THAT HAS GROWN UP SINCE ABOUT THE TIME OF THE BEGINNING OF WORLD WAR II...AND THAT MEANS IS THE FEPC'S--THE FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COMMISSIONS. THESE CONSTITUTE A PHENOMENON OF THE 1940'S AND 50'S. THE FIRST STATE TO PASS FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE LEGISLATION WAS NEW YORK. IN THE FOLLOWING, MR. ELMER CARTER, COMMISSIONER OF THE NEW YORK STATE COMMISSION AGAINST DISCRIMINATION GIVES US A VIVID IDEA OF HOW THE NEW YORK FEPC FUNCTIONS, IN A STATEMENT HE MADE TO US IN NEW YORK CITY IN THE FALL OF 1958.

CARTER:

THE LAW PROVIDES THAT IN THE EVENT A PERSON APPLIES FOR A JOB AND HE FEELS HE'S REJECTED BECAUSE OF HIS RACE, OR COLOR, OR CREED, OR NATIONAL ORIGIN, HE MAY FILE A COMPLAINT WITH THE COMMISSION WHICH HAS BEEN CREATED IN ORDER TO SECURE REDRESS AND A REMEDY FOR DENIAL OF HIS CIVIL RIGHTS. THE LAW ALSO PROVIDES THAT IT'S AN UNLAWFUL EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE TO DIS-CRIMINATE IN THE TERMS AND CONDITIONS AND PRIVILEGES OF EMPLOYMENT EVEN WHEN YOU'RE EMPLOYED -- THAT IS, TH YOU CANNOT, IF YOU EMPLOY A PERSON WHO IS A NEGRO, OR ITALIAN, OR JEWISH PERSON, OR A PUERTO RICAN, YOU MAY NOT HAVE A DIFFERENTIAL WAGE OR DIFFERENT CONDI-TIONS OF EMPLOYMENT FOR THEM BECAUSE OF THEIR RACE C COLOR. AND THE BASES OF PROMOTION IN THE ECHELON OF PROGRESSION IN EMPLOYMENT SHALL NOT BE DENIED, RESTRICTED, OR OBSTRUCTED BECAUSE OF RACE, OR CREED. OR COLOR, OR NATIONAL ORIGIN. SO THAT A PERSON WHO NOT ONLY FEELS THAT HE'S BEEL REJECTED FOR EMPLOYMEN BECAUSE OF HIS RACE, CREED, COLOR OR NATIONAL ORIGIN BUT WHO FAILS TO SECURE PROMOTION, OR WHO FEELS THER A DIFFERENTIAL WAGE, OR AN ASSIGNMENT OF DUTIES WHIC ARE BASED UPON RACE, CREED, COLOR OR NATION ORIGIN, MAY FILE A COMPLAINT WITH THIS COMMISSION. ON THE FILING OF THE COMPLAINT, THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMISS WHICH IS COMPOSED OF FIVE MEMBERS APPOINTED BY THE GOVERNOR OF COMMISSIONERS AND DIRECT HIM TO INITIATE AN INVESTIGATION. THE INVESTIGATING COMMISSIONER. WITH A MEMBER OF THE STAFF, INVESTIGATES THE CHARGES OF THE COMPLAINT -- THE CHARGES WHICH HAVE BEEN MADE ALLEGING DISCRIMINATION. WHEN THE INVESTIGATION IS COMPLETED, THE INVESTIGATING COMMISSIONER MUST ATTEM TO ELIMINATE THE UNLAWFUL EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COM-PLAINED OF, WHETHER IT'S THE REJECTION OF THE PERSON BECAUSE OF HIS COLOR, DISCHARGE, A FAILURE TO PROMOT -BY CONFERENCE, CONCILIATION, AND PERSUASION IF HE MAKES A FINDING OF PROBABLE CAUSE TO CREDIT THE ALLEGATION IN THE COMPLAINT.

C.RTER:

IT HAS BEEN DEMONSTRATED BEYOND THE SHADOW OF A DOUBT THAT LEGISLATION IS ONE OF THE GREAT DETERRENTS OF DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT, AND LEGISLATION CAN ACHIEVE A WIDENING OF OPPORTUNITY, THE LESSENING OF DISCRIMINATION ON BASIS OF RACE, COLOR, CREED, OR NATIONAL ORIGIN, AND MORE THAN THAT—THAT LEGISLATION SERVES TO AROUSE THE CONSCIENCE.

THIRTEEN YEARS OF THE EXPERIENCE OF THE COMMISSION OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK DISSIPATED FOREVER CERTAIN LEGENDS OR MYTHS OR CONCEPTS WHICH WERE PREVALENT DURING THE DISCUSSION AS TO THE EFFICACY OF SUCH A LAW. THE IDEA ADVANCED IN THE EARLY DAYS OF THE DISCUSSION OF THE LAW AGAINST DISCRIMINATION PRIOR TO ITS PASSAGE, THAT THE INTRODUCTION OF A COLORED PERSON INTO THE WORK FORCE OF AN ORGANIZATION WHERE NO COLORED PERSON HAD EVER BEEN EMPLOYED BEFORIN A JOB CATEGORY ABOVE THE LEVEL OF THE MENIAL, WOULD CAUSE A STIMULATION OF RACIAL ANTIPATHIES AND ANTAGONISMS, HAS BEEN PROVEN TO BE ABSOLUTELY WITHOUT VALIDITY.

SCHNEIDER:

MR. CARTER'S STATEMENT IS A STRONG ONE IN FAVOR OF THE VIEW THAT LEGISLATION CAN MAKE A CONTRIBUTION TOWARD ELIMINATING DISCRIMINATION. IN OUR LAST PROGRAM, IN THE COURSE OF DISCUSSING THE NEGRO'S MIGRATION AND URBANIZATION, WE REMARKED THAT MANY OF THE PROBLEMS INCIDENT TO THAT MIGRATION AND URBANIZATION NEEDED AN APPROACH AT THE LEVEL OF PUBLIC PLANNING. THERE SEEMS TO BE WARRANT FOR A SIMILAR CONTENTION IN THIS CASE. INTERVENTION, AT CRUCIAL POINTS AND ON CRUCIA PROBLEMS, BY PUBLIC AGENCIES IS, I WOULD SUGGEST, AN IMPORTANT PART OF AN OVERALL STRATEGY DESIGNED TO WORK TOWARD THE "SOLUTION" OF OUR RACIAL PROBLEMS.

RICHTER:

IN CONCLUSION THEN WE MAY SAY THIS: ISSUES EXIST IN THE SPHERE OF SUCH THINGS AS MIGRATION, URBANIZATION AND THE DISCRIMINATION. JE HAVE DISCUSSED TODAY THE OVERALL APPROACH TO STRUCTURES OF RELATIONSHIPS.
HENCE THE NEED FOR THE SORT OF THING MR. CARTER STRESSES. IN OUR DISCUSSION OF NEGRO EMPLOYMENT, WE HAD AS OUR GUESTS TODAY, VIA TAPE RECORDING, DR. RAYFORD LOGAN, PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AT HOWARD UNIVER ITY; DR. IRWIN SOBEL, ECCNOMIST AT JASHINGTON UNIVER ITY IN ST. LOUIS; ANS MR. ELMER CARTER, COMMISSIONER OF THE NEW YORK STATE COMMISSION AGAINST DISCRIMINATION. NEXT WEEK WE TAKE UP THE TOPIC OF HOUSING, AS WE CONTINUE TO DISCUSS THE LAST CITIZEN, THE NEGRO IN AMERICA.

MUSIC: THEME UP AND UNDER

'NNCR:

You have been distening to Dr. Louis Schneider, Professor of Sociology at Purdue University and the PROGRAM'S PRODUCER-DIRECTOR E. W. RICHTER AS THEY DISCUSS "THE LAST CITIZEN." THIS PROGRAM WAS PRODUCE AND RECORDED BY WBW, PURDUE UNIVERSITY, UNDER A GRAN FROM THE EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION AND RADIO CENTER AND IS BEING DISTRIBUTED BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTERS.

MUSIC: THEME UP TO FINISH

ANNCR: THIS IS THE NAEB RADIO NETWORK.

THE LAST CITIZEN

PROGRAM II
"THE CITY, PART 3"
'A PLACE TO LIVE"

BUGGS: | DON'T THINK THERE'S ANY QUESTION BUT WHAT HOUSING IS THE GREAT UNSOLVED PROBLEM AS IT RELATES TO THE

NEGRO.

HOWDEN: BUT THERE ARE CERTAIN INSTITUTIONALIZED PRACTICES IN

JONES: THAT A NEGRO FAMILY MOVES INTO AN ALL—JHITE NEIGHBOR HOOD DOESN'T NECESSARILY MEAN THAT VALUES ARE GOING

TO GO DOWN AND PRICES ARE GOING TO BE DEPRESSED.

EICHLER: THINK ONE OF THE REASONS FOR THE...AND I MIGHT MODESTLY CALL IT A SUCCESS OF OUR METHOD IN DEALING WITH MINORITY GROUPS, IS THAT WE TREAT EACH INDIVIDUATE COMES IN TO BUY A HOUSE IN A SORT OF A MATTER OF THE PROPERTY OF A MATTER OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY

FACT OR A MATTER OF COURSE MANNER.

MUSIC: STINGER

ANNOR: You have just heard excerpts from comments you will hear as the question of housing is taken up in the

DISCUSSION OF "THE LAST CITIZEN."

MUSIC: STINGER

ANNOR: THE LAST CITIZEN: THE NEGRO IN AMERICA. A SERIES C
PROGRAMS DEVOTED TO THE EXTENSION OF OUR KNOWLEDGE OF
THE LARGEST MINORITY GROUP IN THE UNITED STATES, ITS
PROBLEMS, AND THE PROBLEMS IT POSES TO ALL AMERICANS
THE LAST CITIZEN IS PRODUCED BY RADIO STATION ABOVE,
PURDUE UNIVERSITY, UNDER A GRANT FROM THE EDUCATIONA
TELEVISION AND RADIO CENTER, IN COOPERATION WITH THE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTERS. TO
DISCUSSANTS ARE THE PRODUCER OF THE SERIES, E. W.

RICHTER, AND DR. LOUIS SCHNEIDER, PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY AT PURDUE UNIVERSITY. Today's program: "The City, A Place to Live. Here Now, is Mr. Richter.

RICHTER: A CENTRAL PROBLEM THE NEGRO FACES IN THE CITY IS.
THAT OF HOUSING. THE USUAL PROBLEMS OF DISCRIMINAT'
AND SEGREGATION APPEAR IN THE FIELD OF HOUSING, BUT
HOUSING FOR THE NEGRO DOES HAVE SPECIAL AS—
PECTS. LET'S START BY REMINDING DURSELVES THAT SING
1914 THERE HAS DEEN A GREAT IN-MIGRATION OF NEGROES
INTO OUR LARGER CITIES, AND THIS AGAIN PROVIDES US

WITH A SIGNIFICANT BACKGROUND FOR DISCUSSION.

SCHNEIDER:

I THINK WE'RE PRETTY WELL ACQUAINTED WITH THE GENER CITYWARD MOVEMENT OF THE NEGRO. AND WE'VE DISCUSSED LEAST SOMETHING OF WHAT THAT MOVEMENT MEANS. RIGHT NOW, PERHAPS, AS WE GO INTO THE AREA OF HOUSING, WE MIGHT SIMPLY BEAR IN MIND SOME OF THE DETAILS--SOME THE NUMERICAL DETAILS OF THE N EGRO'S MOVEMENT TOWAR THE BIGGER CITIES. LET ME CITE A FEW CENSUS FIGURES CONFINING MYSELF TO THE DECADE OF 1940 TO 1950. IN 1940 CHICAGO HAD A NON-MHITE POPULATION OF OVER 280,000, AND, AS USUAL, NON-SHITE OVERWHELMINGLY MEA Negro. A decade later, in 1950, the city had a NON-WHITE POPULATION OF OVER 500,000. CORRESPONDING FIGURES FOR DETROIT ARE ABOUT 150,000 FOR 1940 AND SOMEWHAT OVER 300.000 FOR 1950. AND JASHINGTON, D.C. RISES FROM UNDER 200,000 TO NEARLY 300,000....SO THAT YOU HAVE APPROXIMATELY 50% INCREASES OF THE NON-WHIT POPULATION IN THESE LAST TWO IMPORTANT CITIES. LITT ALAMEDA, CALIFORNIA, ALMOST QUINTUPLED ITS NON-JHITE POPULATION IN THE DECADE, 1940 TO 1950, AND BIG LOS Angeles more than boudled its Non-Vhite Population. SIGNS OF THE TIMES, NO DOUBT, FOR HERE WE SEE IN A PARTICULAR SPHERE, THAT OF SHEER POPULATION INCREASE THE INCREASING TENDENCY FOR THE WEST COAST CITIES TO BE AFFECTED BY THE NATION'S OUTSTANDING MINCRITY PROBLEM.

RICHTER:

Well, since you stress non-White population on the West Coast, let's listen for a few moments to Mr. John Buggs, Executive Secretary of the Los Angeles Committee on Human Relations. Speaking against the Background of experience in Los Angeles, Mr. Buggs has the following to say.

BUGGS:

I DON'T THINK THERE'S ANY QUESTION BUT WHAT HOUSING THE GREAT UNSOLVED PROBLEM AS IT RELATES TO THE NEGR I HAVE A FEW STATISTICS THAT WOULD PROBABLY BE VERY INTERESTING TO YOU. RECENTLY, THE LOS INGELES CITY PLANNING COMMISSION RELEASED A SET OF STATISTICS WIT RELATION TO THE INCREASE IN POPULATION IN CERTAIN COMMUNITIES IN THE CITY OF LOS ANGELES, AND AT THE SAME TIME THEY RELEASED STATISTICS WITH RESPECT TO T INCREASE IN HOUSING IN THOSE SAME AREAS. IN THOSE AREAS IN THE COUNTY, IN THE CITY, RATHER, THAT HAVE A HIGH CONCENTRATION OF MINORITY GROUP PEOPLES, PART -CULARLY NEGROES AND MEXICAN-AMERICANS LIVING IN THEM WE DISCOVER THAT THE RATIO OF NEW PEOPLE--NET INCREA -- TO NEW HOUSING BETWEEN FEBRUARY OF 1956 AND OCTOBE OF 1957, WERE AS FOLLOWS: IN ONE COMMUNITY 12 ADDI-TIONAL PEOPLE FOR EVERY ADDITIONAL HOUSE MADE AVAIL-ABLE. IN ONE COMMUNITY 1,491 PEOPLE WERE ADDED TO T POPULATION AND THEY LOST FIFTY HOUSING UNITS BECAUSE OF THE ENCROACHMENT OF INDUSTRY. IN ANOTHER, 44 FOR EVERY ADDITIONAL HOME. NOW, THESE ARE IN AREAS THAT HAVE BEEN HISTORICALLY NEGRO AREAS, OR MEXICAN-SMERT

AREAS. IF WE CONTRAST THAT WITH COMMUNITIES FROM WHICH NEGROES ARE EFFECTIVELY EXCLUDED BY A GREAT VARIETY OF DEVICES, WE DISCOVER THAT DURING THE SAME PERIOD OF TIME THE RATIO OF HOMES TO INCREASED POPU-LATION WOULD BE, IN ONE COMMUNITY, 1.4 HOMES FOR EVEN ADDITIONAL PERSON. IN ANOTHER THE RATIO WAS I to 2; ANOTHER I TO 1.5, AND SO FORTH. | MIGHT POINT OUT ALSO THAT IN THESE AREAS OF HIGH MINORITY GROUP CON-CENTRATION IN WHICH WE SEE CONCENTRATION AND OVER-CROWDING CONTINUING AT A RAPID RATE, THESE WERE ALRES THE MOST OVERCROWDED AREAS IN THE CITY OF LOS INGELE SO WHAT WE SEE DEVELOPING HERE IS SOMETHING THAT WE' \ NEVER HAD BEFORE IN LOS ANGELES CITY AND THAT IS THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN OVERCROWDED SITUATION WHICH WILL RESULT IN SLUMS THE LIKE OF WHICH WE HAVEN THAD IN THE WEST, WHICH THE EAST HAS BEEN CRYING ABOUT FOR S MANY YEARS. THIS INEVITABLY, IT SEEMS TO ME, WILL RESULT IN INCREASED CRIME AND DELINQUENCY, WHICH WILL OF COURSE CALL FOR INCREASED SOCIAL SERVICES. POLICE PROTECTION, PROBATION SERVICES AND AN INCREASE IN TAXES.

SCHNEIDER:

IT'S EVIDENT, THEN, THAT THERE IS, FOR THE NEGRO, A SHEER PROBLEM OF FINDING SPACE AND HOUSING FACILITIES ANGELES MERELY ILLUSTRATES THE PROBLEM; IN FACT, THE PROBLEM IS COUNTRY-WIDE. AND, OF COURSE, THERE IS THE FAMILIAR ASSOCIATED PROBLEM OF NEGRO PRESSURE TO MOVE OUTSIDE DELIMITED AREAS INTO PORTIONS OF A CITY HITHERTO MORE OR LESS EXCLUSIVELY INHABITED BY MHITES.

RICHTER:

Vell, Lou, a question many people might ask is why Negroes wish to move into white neighborhoods.

SCHNEIDER:

THE NEGRO SIMPLY NEEDS SPACE. ALSO, HE SHARES IN AMERICAN CULTURE AND ASPIRATIONS AND WISHES TO REALI THE SAME IDEALS AND ENJOY MUCH THE SAME GOODS AS HIS THITE NEIGHBOR. HIS SEST CHANCE OF DOING THESE THIN IS TO ESCAPE THE RESTRICTIONS AND HANDICAPS THAT DEF-INITELY TEND TO BE IMPOSED UPON DENSE, ALL-NEGRO SETTLEMENTS IN OUR CITIES. BUT, OF COURSE, THE NEGRO DOES NOT HAVE AN EASY EXIT, AND IF ANYTHING AT ALL I WELL KNOWN ABOUT THE MINORITY HOUSING SITUATION IT I THE CIRCUMSTANCE THAT THE NEGRO VERY FREQUENTLY FACES FIRM OPPOSITION WHEN HE TRIES TO MOVE OUT. HE'S PRESSURED BY LACK OF SPACE; HE'S MOTIVATED BY THE DESIRE TO HAVEA SO-CALLED DECENT STANDARD OF LIVING. .. INCREASINGLY, NEGROES ARE SO MOTIVATED; HE'S PROMPTED BY THE REALISTIC CONSIDERATION THAT ALL-NEGRO COMMUNITIES -- UNLESS THERE PREVAIL SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES TIED UP WITH NEGRO VOTING POWER AND POLITICAL INFLUENCE -- ARE GIVEN INFERIOR SERVICE. So PUSHED AND IMPELLED. THE NEGRO YET CONFRONTS FAMILIA OPPOSITION AND HOSTILITY THAT HE DOES.

RICHTER:

LET'S LOOK INTO SOME OF THE WAYS IN WHICH THIS CPPOSITION AND HOSTILITY OPERATE. AND HERE, I THINK IT IS WELL TO BE QUITE SPECIFIC ABOUT AT LEAST A FEW OF THE VITAL ASPECTS OF THIS HOUSING PROBLEM. LET'S DRAW ON THE EXPERIENCE AND REFLECTION OF MR. EDWARD HOWDEN, FORMER DIRECTOR OF THE SAN FRANCISCO COUNCIL FOR CIVIC UNITY, AND AT PRESENT EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE SAN FRANCISCO COMMISSION OF EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES. MR. HOWDEN DISCUSSES PRACTICES IN THE FIELD OF PRIVATE HOUSING WHICH MAKE FOR VERY REAL DIFFICULTIES FOR THE NEGRO.

HO DEN:

BUT THERE ARE CERTAIN INSTITUTIONALIZED PRACTICES IN PRIVATE HOUSING WHICH STILL CONSTITUTE BIG BARRIERS. THESE, IN QUICK GENERAL SUMMARY FORM, ARE AS FOLLOWS THE PRACTICES OF MOST REAL ESTATE BROKERS (THESE PRACTICES CONSISTING MAINLY OF EITHER REFUSING OR CERTAINLY HEAVILY DISCOURAGING THE SALE OF HOMES TO OTHERWISE QUALIFIED BUYERS WHO ARE NON-WHITE AND WHO ARE ATTEMPTING TO BUY A HOME IN A NEIGHBORHOOD THAT IS STILL ALL-WHITE.) NOW, AS A GENERALIZATION, AND FORTUNATELY THERE ARE SOME EXCEPTIONS, REAL ESTATE BROKERS, CERTAINLY IN THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA, CERTAINLY IN CALIFORNIA GENERALLY, AND I QUESS IN MUOF THE REST OF THE NATION, ARE RELUCTANT OR OUTRIGHT UNWILLING AND REFUSING TO SELL IN A BLOCK WHICH IS STILL ALL-WHITE TO A NON-WHITE FAMILY.

A SECOND KIND OF BARRIER, OF COURSE, HAS TO DO WITH WHAT INDIVIDUAL SELLERS WILL DO--PERHAPS ! SHOU HAVE MENTIONED THIS FIRST. MOST REAL ESTATE BROKERS WHEN YOU QUESTION THEM ABOUT THEIR PRACTICES WILL. "WE DON'T DECIDE THIS. THIS IS ENTIRELY UP TO THE SELLER OF A HOME, " WHETHER HE BE A HOME BUILDER OR A HOME OWNER WHO IS RE-SELLING HIS HOME. NOW, THIS OF COURSE DOES APPLY TO SOME INDIVIDUAL SELLERS, UNDER PRESSURE FROM NEIGHBORS, UNDER FEARS, OR FOR OUTRIGH PREJUDICIAL REASONS, WILL REFUSE TO SELL TO NON-WHIT AND WILL SO INSTRUCT THEIR BROKERS. THE QUARREL OF MANY OF US WORKING IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS, THE QUAR WITH REAL ESTATE BROKERS IS THAT THEY TEND TO SUPPOR THIS PRACTICE AND TEND TO ENCOURAGE IT: GENERALLY SPEAKING. IF A SELLER DOESN'T RAISE THE QUESTION. THEY MAY RAISE IT FOR HIM AND THERE IS--WE'RE AFRAID IN MANY CASES A KIND OF A 'COMING BETWEEN' THE SELLE AND THE BUYER WITH SOME DISCRIMINATORY IDEAS. AND THIS COMING - BETWEEN HAPPENS, UNFORTUNATELY, OFTEN ON THE PART OF THE BROKER.

Now, ANOTHER BIG AREA OF RESISTENCE OR A KING OF BARRIER, HAS TO DO WITH HOME FINANCING. GENERALL SPEAKING, THE NON-WHITE HAS A LOT MORE TROUBLE GETTIA GOOD LOAN ON THE HOME HE WANTS TO BUY DESPITE HIS FINANCIAL QUALIFICATIONS, DESPITE HIS EDUCATIONAL AN CULTURAL STATUS, DESPITE HIS ESTABLISHED POSITION IN

THE COMMUNITY; HE MAY HAVE GREAT TROUBLE GETTING CONVENTIONAL FINANCING OR GETTINGFHA TYPE FINANCING, WHICH MEANS ON BETTER TERMS, AND THEREFORE LOWER COST. TO HIM OVER A LONG PERIOD, OR WHICH ACTUALLY MIGHT MAKE THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN HIS BEING ABLE TO BUY THE HOME OR NOT. BECAUSE ON THE SIZE OF THE LOAN YOU CAN GET WHEN YOU BUY A HOME, OF COURSE, MAY DETERMINE WHETHER YOU CAN GET IT AT ALL. IF YOU HAVE ABOUT THE AVERAGE AMOUNT OF DOWN PAYMENT THAT THE NEXT GUY HAPPENS TO HAVE, AND THEREFORE YOU NEED A LOAN OF A CERTAIN SIZE IF YOU'RE GOING TO MAKE A PURCHASE, AND IF YOU CAN'T GET THAT SIZE LOAN, IF THE BANK WILL OFF YOU A LOAN BUT ONLY HALF THAT SIZE, THEN IT MAY MEAN THAT YOU JUST CAN'T BUY--PERIOD. SO FINANCING IS STIAL VERY SERIOUS PROBLEM.

THE OTHER SCRT OF PROBLEM HAS TO DO WITH THE PRACTICES OF LARGE-TRACT BUILDERS, HOME BUILDERS, GENERALLY SPEAKING. AND, UNFORTUNATELY, WITH NOTABLE EXCEPTIONS, HOME BUILDERS GENERALLY ARE NOT YET SELLING TO NEGRO FAMILIES. SOME IN THIS AREA ARE SELLING TO ORIENTAL FAMILIES, BUT NOT TO NEGROES. AND THIS THE HOME BUILDER'S OWN DECISION AS TO WHAT IS IN HIS BEST BUSINESS INTEREST, RIGHTLY OR WRONGLY CONCEIVED, AND THIS IS STILL THE KIND OF RACE BARRIER THAT HE

THROWS UP.

SCHNEIDER:

I SUPPOSE MR. HOWDEN'S STATEMENTS COULD BE FAIRLY INDEFINITELY ELABORATED. BUT SOME OF THE CRUCIAL PROBLEMS UNDOUBTEDLY DO CENTER AROUND THE ACTIVITIES OF REAL ESTATE PEOPLE, SELLERS, FINANCIAL AGENCIES AND HOME BUILDERS. YET, THERE ARE VARIOUS SPECTRES, GHOSTS THAT HAUNT THE PREMISES. THE SPECTRES OR GHOS I HAVE IN MIND RELATE TO MANY OF THE THINGS THAT AU-THORITIES ON HOUSING REFER TO AS FALLACIOUS NOTIONS . NOTIONS ABOUT WHAT WILL HAPPEN WHEN MEMBERS OF MINOR. ITY GROUPS MOVE INTO PREVIOUSLY ALL- HITE AREAS, AND ABOUT WHAT THE MEMBERS OF THE MINORITY GROUPS MOVING IN ARE ACTUALLY LIKE. LET ME STRESS THAT YOU CAN GET THAT YOU HAVE GOTTEN, PANICKY ACTION BY WHITES IN AN ALL-WHITE NEIGHBORHOOD IN SITUATIONS IN WHICH THERE WAS NO WARRANT WHITEVER FOR FRIGHT OR FOR FLIGHT. 1: HAVE HERE A STATEMENT FROM THE NOVEMBER, 1957, ISSUE OF SCCIAL CTION: A MAGAZINE OF CHRISTIAN CONCERN, THAT PUTS VERY COGENTLY THE SITUATION I'M THINKING O SOCIAL ACTION NOTES THAT BELIEF THAT VALUES WILL FAL IS AN "AGENT IN A CHAIN OF RESPONSES WHICH CULMINATE IN A CONVICTION THAT THE NEIGHBORHOOD IS LOST. THEN THIS ATTITUDE REACHES THE STAGE OF NEAR-PANIC, FAMILIES MOVE OUT AND DUMP THEIR PROPERTIES ON THE MARKET. THEN ACTUAL DEPRECIATION OF PROPERTY VALUES DOES OCCUR. REAL ESTATE-FINANCING INSTITUTIONS, AND MARKETING AGENCIES RESPOND TO THIS FORM OF BEHAVIOR. SUDDENLY A LARGE SUPPLY OF HOUSES BECOMES AVAILABLE

NON- THITE FAMILIES. IT IS A SITUATION OF THE THITE RESIDENTS' OWN MAKING, AND HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH THE CULTURAL, MCRAL, OR SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF ONE OR OMINORITY GROUP FAMILIES THAT HAVE MOVED INTO THE NEIGHBORHOOD.

RICHTER: Don't I DETECT IN THIS OUR OLD FRIEND, OR PERHAPS I SHOULD SAY OUR OLD ENEMY, THE SELF-FULFILLING PROPHEC

SCHNEIDER: I THINK YOU DO.

RICHTER:

ALL RIGHT. Showing that white residents of a community produce a panic all by themselves, at time, is all verified. But, isn't there one question which is bound to come up - which has to answered? That is, don't members of minority groups, like the Negro, often should be a subject of the community groups. The subject of the community groups and the subject of the community groups and the subject of the community groups. The subject of the community group facilities, and the subject of the community groups. The subject of the community groups are subject of the community groups. The subject of the community groups are subject of the community groups. The subject of the community groups are subject of the community groups. The subject of the community groups are subject of the community groups. The subject of the community groups are subject of the community groups. The subject of the community groups are subject of the community groups. The subject of the community groups are subject of the community groups. The subject of the community groups grou

LET ME SUGGEST, FOR ONE THING, IN ANSWER TO THIS SCHNELDER: QUESTION THAT THERE IS OBVIOUSLY A GREAT DEAL OF STEREOTYPING - A STEREOTYPY THAT HAS TO BE CLOSELY SCRUTINIZED. IN HIS STUDY OF FORBIDDEN NEIGHBORHOCDS THE HOUSING EXPERT, CHARLES ABRAMS, NOTES THAT WHEN THE CHINESE FIRST CAME TO THE UNITED STATES AND WERE NEEDED, THEY WERE REGARDED AS CLEAN, WERE HIRED AS COCKS, AND WERE CONSIDERED TO KEEP FINE RESTAURANTS. BUT, IN TIME, FOR REASONS HAVING LITTLE OR NOTHING T DO WITH THE ACTUAL HABITS OF PERSONAL CLEANLINESS OF THE CHINESE, MANY CAME TO REGARD THEM AS NOTABLY UNCLEAN. ABRAMS ALSO MAKES THIS ORVIOUS ENOUGH, BUT NECESSARY, COMMENT ABOUT THE NEGRO, "AS LONG AS THE NEGRO IS THE SERVANT OR COOK, HE OR SHE COULD COOK OUR FOOD, MAKE OUR BEDS, BUNDLE OUR CHILDREN, SLEEP IN THE SAME ROOM WITH THEM. THE PICTURE OF AUNT JEMIMA MIXING PANCAKES DOES NOT HURT THE SALE OF PANCAKE FLOUR. AND THE PORTRAYAL OF THE NEGRO PULL-MAN PORTER TIDYING UP OUR BERTHS IS ACCEPTABLE AND EVEN REASSURING. BUT SINCE THE NEGRO HAS MOVED TO THE CROWDED CITIES HE HAS STEPPED INTO THE OLD IMMI-GRANT'S IMAGE. THE SLUMSARE HIS FAULT, THE FAILURE OF THE CITY TO COLLECT GARBAGE IS TRANSLATED INTO A VISION OF THE NEGRO LIVING IN A HOUSEFUL OF FILTH. THE FAILURE OF THE LANDLORD TO MAKE REPAIRS OR TO SUPPLY EXTERMINATION SERVICES, CAUSING THE ACCUMULA-TION OF RATS AND VERMIN IN HALLS AND CELLARS, IS AUTOMATICALLY IMPUTED TO THE NEGRO'S HABITS. THERE IS GREAT MERIT IN THIS STATEMENT BY MR. BRAMS BUT THE RACIAL FACTOR IS STILL COMPLICATED BY CLASS FACTORS. AS WE VERY WELL KNOW, IT IS STILL THE CASE THAT THE NEGRO CLASS STRUCTURE IS, SO TO PUT'IT, PITCHED LOW. LEVELS OF INCOME AND EDUCATION, ARE STILL NOTABLY DEPRESSED IN THE NEGRO, BY COMPARISON

WITH THE WHITE, POPULATION. THIS COMES IN TO COMPLICATE THE RACIAL FACTOR....WHICH MAY BE VERY UNFORTUMATE, BUT IT IS STILL THE CASE. IT IS MERELY HONEST AND REALISTIC TO RECORDIZE IT, AND IT CAN BE DAMAGINTO OVERLOOK IT. I'VE JUST QUOTED MIR. BRAMS, AND THE LAST SENTENCE I QUOTED INDICATED THAT THE LANDLORD'S FAILURES ARE AUTOMATICALLY IMPUTED TO THE NEGRO'S HABITS. IMMEDIATELY AFTER THIS, MR. BRAMS REMARKS, "NO ALLOWANCE IS MADE FOR THE FACT THAT A NEWCOMER FROM A BACKWAALD REGION MAY NEED TIME FOR ADJUSTMENT." PRECISELY. BUT, HOWEVER UNFORTUNATE THAT THE NEGRO MAY NEED TIME FOR ADJUSTMENT, AS MR. BRAMS PUTS IT, THE FACT REMAINS.

RICHTER:

IT SEEMS TO ME THAT IT WOULD BE VERY EASY FOR YOU T BE MISUNDERSTOOD ON THIS, LOU, CERTAINLY YOU'RE NOT SUGGESTING THAT LOW INCOME, POORLY EDUCATED NEGROES SHOULD BE DISCRIMINATED AGAINST IN HOUSING?

SCHNEIDER:

NOTHING COULD BE MORE REMOVED FROM MY MIND. I WOULF THINK THAT WHAT I AM SUGGESTING SIMPLY INDICATES THE NEED FOR SOME DEGREE OF <u>PLANNING</u> BY URBAN AND HOUSIF OFFICIALS, MORE <u>UNDERSTANDING</u> ON THE PART OF WHITES. AND, INDEED, A REALIZATION THAT WHERE THE NEGRO HAS WHAT MAY DE VIEWED AS SHORTCOMINGS, THEY ARE SHORTCOMINGS, IF THAT IS WHAT THEY ARE, WHICH ARE PECULIATION A CLASS SITUATION, AND HAVE NOTHING DIRECTLY TO UNITH RACE.

RICHTER:

Thus you would say that these "shortcomings" would hold true not only for Negroes from Backward areas, but for Jhites as well who have similar class back-grounds.

SCHNEIDER:

YES. YET, IN THE CASE OF THE NEGRO THE MATTER IS COMPLICATED BY RACIAL PREJUDICE. RACIAL PREJUDICE ALONE IS INVOLVED WHERE NEGROES COMING INTO WHITE NEIGHBORHOODS ARE AT LEVELS OF EDUCATION AND INCOME COMPARABLE TO THOSE OF THE WHITES WHOM THEY ARE SAID TO BE" INVADING". I MIGHT ADD, THAT THERE IS SOME EVIDENCE TO SUGGEST THAT PREJUDICE IS LIKELY TO BE LESSENED WHEN THE PREJUDICED MUST SUSTAIN CONTACTS WITH THE OBJECTS OF THEIR PREJUDICE, IF -- AND HERE !-QUOTE FROM A RELEVANT STUDY BY DEUTSCH AND COLLINS-IF THE BEHAVIOR OF CBJECTS OF PREJUDICE IS SUCH AS TO BE AT VARIANCE, OR NOT TO CONFORM WITH THE BELIEF OF THE PREJUDICED. THAT IS, THE N EGROES WITH WHOM THE PREJUDICED PERSON HAS CONTACT MUST BE LAZY, IGNORANT, DELINQUENT, ETCETERA". " CERTAINLY THIS ONCE AGAIN SUGGESTS THE NEED FOR SOME KIND OF PLANN. AND FURTHER, IT SUGGESTS THAT IF A CERTAIN MINIMUM STRATEGIC PLANNING IS CAR LED THROUGH, INTEGRATED HOUSING CAN BE A FACTOR OF MAJOR SIGNIFICANCE IN REDUCING PREJUDICE.

RICHTER:

IT DOES SEEM THEN, THAT WE HAVE IN THIS ENTIRE AREA A VERY GREAT DEAL OF MISUNDERSTANDING. I THINK I CAN SENSE, OR GLIMPSE, FOMETHING OF THE MYTHS AND THE SPECTERS AND GHOSTS WHICH YOU REFERRED TO PREVIOUSLY LOU. WE'VE ENCOUNTERED THE SELF-FULFILLING PROPHECY AGAIN IN CONNECTION WITH PANICS WHEN NEGROES BEGIN T MOVE INTO A NEIGHBORHOOD. WE SEE THE NEED FOR A CERTAIN ACUTENESS OF THINKING, AS WELL AS SOCIAL SYMPATHY, WHEN RACIAL FACTORS ARE COMPLICATED BY CLASFACTORS IN THE SPHERE OF HOUSING AND URBAN MOVEMENT. BUT, IF WE HAVE MYTHS, GHOSTS, SPECTERS, WE ALSO HAVE MEN WHO COMPLICATE THE SCENE.

SCHNEIDER:

YES, WE HAVE MEN WHO DO. AND AS LONG AS WE REMEMBER THAT THEY ARE THEMSELVES PUT INTO SITUATIONS WHICH IT WOULD BE HARD TO HELP, I SEE NO HARM IN SPEAKING ABOUT THEM. SOME AND SOME REAL ESTATE BROKERS HAVE UNDOUBTEDLY HAD A HAND IN MAKING THE HOUSING SITUATION A "ROUGH" ONE FOR THE NEGRO.

RICHTER:

DR. JOSEPH TAYLOR, A PROFESSIONAL SCCIOLOGIST AND PROGRESS DIRECTOR OF FLANNER HOUSE IN INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA, MADE SOME COMMENTS ABOUT CERTAIN LANDLORDS.

T YLOR:

WELL, I THINK THE ROLE OF THE LANDLORD IN THE PER-PETUATION OF THE SLUMS IS A VE Y DIG ONE, HE'S PLAYED A VERY BIG ROLE. THIS, I THINK, COULD BE POINTED OUT BY THE FACT THAT IN ONE AREA THAT I COULD POINT OUT IN THIS COMMUNITY, THAT IS DEFINITELY A SLUM AREA. ONLY ONE IN FIVE HOUSES IS OWNED BY THE PERSON WHO LIVES IN IT. THIS LEAVES 80% OF THE HOUSING BELONG! TO ABSENTEE OWNERS. NOW THE ... THIS CRE TES QUITE A PROBLEM FROM TWO ASPECTS. ONE, THIS SLUM AREA IS USUALLY JUST OUTSIDE AN EXPANDING BUSINESS AREA, BUSINESS OR INDUSTRIAL AREA, AND SO IT IS ANTICIPATE THAT THE USE OF IT WILL BE CHANGED. THIS IS NO INDU MENT TO THE OWNER OF THE PROPERTY TO INVEST MORE MONEY IN IT FOR RESIDENTIAL PURPOSES. Now, BECAUSE HE'S PAYING A HIGH AMOUNT OF RENT, AN EXORBITANT AMOUNT OF RENT, THE PERSON WHO LIVES IN HOUSE DOESN' FEEL OBLIGATED TO DO ANYTHING TO IT IF THE LAND ORD WON'T. IT MEANS THAT OFTEN AS A PART OF HIS RESENT-MENT TO THE TREATMENT THAT HE'S GETTING AT THE HANDS OF THE LANDLORD HE IS NOT AS CAREFUL WITH THE PROPER AS HE MIGHT BE. AND IT OUGHT TO BE KEPT IN MIND THA THE PROPERTY WAS NOT IN GOOD REPAIR WHEN HE WENT INT IT. IT MEANS THAT IN THE COURSE OF NORMAL WEAR AND TEAR IT RAPIDLY DETERIORATES. PARTICULARLY IS THIS TRUE WHEN YOU CONSIDER THE OVERCROWDING THAT IS NEC-ESSARY IN ORDERS FOR MANY PEOPLE TO HAVE A PLACE AT ALL TO'LIVE.

RICHTER:

AND SINCE REAL-ESTATE AGENTS ARE MENTIONED, LET US LISTEN TO MR. MADISON JONES OF THE NEW YORK HOUSING AUTHORITY, AS HE DESCRIBES THE OPERATIONS OF SOME REAL ESTATE AGENTS.

JONES:

THE FACT THAT A NEGRO FAMILY MOVES INTO AN ALL-WHITE NEIGHBORHOOD DOESN'T NECESSARILY MEAN THAT VALUES ARE GOING TO GO DOWN AND PRICES ARE GOING TO BE DEPRESSED THAT HAPPENS IS THIS. THAT IF A NEGRO DOES MOVE IN, BY AND LARGE, THE REAL ESTATE BRCKERS--AND THIS GOES FOR BOTH WHITE AND NEGRO BROKERS--THEY WILL START A CAMPAIGN OF HARRASSMENT OVER THE ENTIRE COMMUNITY, TELLING THAT THE NEGROES HAVE COME IN AND QUOTE "YOU KNOW WHAT'S GOING TO HAPPEN' ENQUOTE, AND LITERALLY SCARE THE DAYLIGHTS OUT OF PEOPLE AND FINALLY PUSH THEM INTO SELLING THEIR HOUSES, PICKING THEM UP FOR VERY LITTLE MONEY, LET'S SAY, BECAUSE PEOPLE ARE SELLING IN A PANIC. THE SAME DROKER WILL TURN AROUND AND OFFER THE SAME HOUSE TO A NEGRO FAMILY AT MANY, MANY TIMES MORE TIMES A FIGURE THAN HE PAID FOR IT. So HE MAKES A KILLING BOTH WAYS. HE BUYS IT CHEAPLY, AND HE SELLS IT EXPENSIVELY.

RICHTER:

AND INCONCLUSION, LET US TURN TO THE CASE OF A MAN WHO IN HIS OWN WAY IS MAKING A CONTRIBUTION TOWARD ALLEVIATING THE NEGRC'S HOUSING PROBLEM: MR. JOSEPH EICHLER, AN IMPORTANT HOME BUILDER IN THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA....BUILDER OF EICHLER HOMES.

EICHLER:

HELL, MY IEW IS THAT ANY AMERICAN IS ENTITLED TO PURCHASE A HEME UNDER THE GOVERNMENT GUAR NTEED FINANCING PROGRAM WHICH IS THE PROGRAM UNDER WHICH WE OPERATE, AS LONG AS HE IS FINANCIALLY QUALIFIED AND A LONG AS, IN OUR OPINION, HE WOULD MAKE A GOOD NEIGHBO

RICHTER:

HELL, DO YOU PUT PROSPECTIVE CWNERS OF YOUR HOMES THROUGH A SCREENING PROCESS?

EICHLER:

WE DO, YES.

RICHTER:

ON WHAT BASIS?

EICHLER:

MELL, WE NATURALLY TRY TO ASCERTAIN WHETHER THEY HAVE THE FINANCIAL QUALIFICATIONS AND THEN, WE GET THEIR BACKGROUND AND SO ON. WE CAN PRETTY WELL DETERMINE WHETHER PEOPLE WILL MAKE GOOD NEIGHBORS OR NOT. WE MAKE OUR JUDGMENT BY TALKING TO THEM AND SO ON. I MIGHT STATE THAT WE HAVEN'T BEEN ONE HUNDRED PERCENT ACCURATE IN OUR JUDGMENT, WE HAVE HAD, FROM TIME TO TIME, PEOPLE WHO HAVE TURNED OUT TO BE NOT GOOD NEIGHBORS. AND THIS HAS CAUSED FAR MORE TROUBLE THAN ANY OF THE...THAN ANY MEMBER OF ANY MINORITY GROUP.

RICHTER: Have you never had any repercussions from people who wanted you to build them a house?

WELL. NATURALLY WE'VE HAD SOME REPERCUSSIONS -- THERE EICHLER: HAVE BEEN PEOPLE WHO VE REFUSED TO BUY HOUSES IN OUR VARIOUS DEVELOPMENTS BUT, BY AND LARGE, WE'VE MANAGEL TO SELL ALL THE HOUSES THAT WE BUILD AND ALSO THAT TH RESALE VALUES OF OUR HOUSES HAVE INCREASED VERY SUB-STANTIALLY. IN FACT, I WOULD THINK, IN MOST OF OUR SUBDIVISIONS THAT THE RESALE VALUE HAS BEEN ABOVE AVERAGE. | THINK ONE OF THE REASONS FOR THE...AND | MIGHT MODESTLY CALL IT THE SUCCESS OF OUR METHOD OF DEALING WITH MINORITY GROUPS...IS THAT WE TREAT EACH INDIVIDUAL THAT COMES IN TO BUY A HOUSE IN A SORT OF MATTER OF FACT OR A MATTER OF COURSE MANNER. 4 MAN COMES IN, HE WISHES TO BUY A HOUSE. NO QUESTION EVER ARISES, NO DISCUSSION IS EVER ENGAGED IN, AS TO HIS RACE, OR HIS COLOR, OR ANY OF HIS PERSONAL CHARACTER-ISTICS.

RICHTER: UR EVEN HIS ATTITUDES?

EICHLER: JELL, I DON'T KNOW WHAT YOU MEAN BY HIS ATTITUDES.

RICHTER: WELL, MANY PEOPLE HAVE RATHER STRONG ATTITUDES RELA-TING TO RACE AND DO YOU TRY TO FIND OUT WHETHER A PERSON MOVING INTO ONE OF YOUR DEVELOPMENTS HAS ANY FEELINGS AGAINST NEGROES IN THE COMMUNITY?

EICHLER: JE DO NOT. WE DON'T GO THAT FAR, AND WE HAVE DONE THIS ON MANY OCCASIONS: PEOPLE HAVE FOUND OUT WHEN THEY WERE BUYING A HOUSE FROM US THAT THEY WERE GOIN: TO HAVE A NEGRO NEIGHBOR AND THEY FELT, SOME FELT DISTURBED ADOUT THIS, BUT IN NEARLY ALL CASES WE'VE MANAGED TO CONVINCE THEM THAT THIS, THAT THESE PEOPL WERE DECENT PEOPLE AND THAT THEY WOULD MAKE GOOD NEIGHBORS AND THAT THEIR FEARS WERE UNFOUNDED. WE HAVE HAD A FEW OCCASIONS WHERE WE'VE HAD TO REFUND PURCHASER'S MONEY, AND TAKE THEIR HOUSES DACK AND RESELL THEM. BUT THESE HAVE BEEN VERY, VERY FEW IND

RICHTER: IN OTHER WORDS, YOU WOULD SAY THAT IN GENERAL THE MATTER OF INTEGRATION IN THE COMMUNITIES WHICH YOU'V HELPED TO CONSTRUCT HAS GONE ON UNEVENTFULLY AND SUCCESSFULLY.

EICHLER: THAT IS CORRECT.

RICHTER: Thus we see that in testing certain of the theories regarding interracial housing which are prevalent among real estate brokers and builders, Mr. Eichler discovered at least a few faltacies. Today we touch on some of the highspots of the Negro's problem of finding a place to live. Next week our subject will

STILL BE "THE CITY", DUT OUR FOCUS WILL BE ON CRIME, AS WE DISCUSS "THE LAST CITIZEN," THE NEGRO IN AMERICA.

MUSIC: THEME UP NO UNDER

ANNOR:
You have been listening to Dr. Lousi Schneider, Professor of Sociology at Purdue University and the Program's producer-director, E. W. Richter, as they discuss "The Last Citizen". This program was produce and recorded by #JAAA, Purdue University, under a gram from the Educational Television and Radio Center and is being distributed by the National Association of Educational Broadcasters.

MUSIC: THEME UP TO FINISH

ANNOR: THIS IS THE NAEB RADIO NETWORK.

THE LAST CITIZEN

PROGRAM #12
"THE CITY, PART 4"
NEGRO CRIME

SCHNEIDER: OUR CRIMINAL STATISTICS, BY AND LARGE, LEAVE A GREAT DEAL TO BE DESIRED. THEY ARE TECHNICALLY IN MANY WAYS FAULTY. AND WHEN IT COMES TO THE NEGRO, VERY MANY QUESTIONS ARISE REGARDING THE MEANING OF STATISTICS. SO MANY, IN FACT, THAT WE CAN'T DO MORE THAN INDICATE A FEW OF THEM IN THIS PROGRAM.

MUSIC: STINGER

NNCR: CRIME AND CRIMINALITY AMONG NEGROES. LISTEN AS THIS TOPIC IS INVESTIGATED IN ANOTHER DISCUSSION OF THE NEGRO IN AMERICA.... "THE LAST CITIZEN."

MUSIC: STINGER

RICHTER:

SCHNEIDER:

ANNOR:

THE LAST CITIZEN: THE NEGRO IN AMERICA. A SERIES OF PROGRAMS DEVOTED TO THE EXTENSION OF OUR KNOWLEDG OF THE LANGEST MINORITY GROUP IN THE UNITED STATES, ITS PROBLEMS, AND THE PROBLEMS IT POSES TO ALL AMERICANS. THE LAST CITIZEN IS PRODUCED BY RADIO STATISTS PURDUE UNIVERSITY, UNDER A GRANT FROM THE EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION AND RADIO CENTER, IN COOPERATION WITH THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTERS. THE DISCUSSANTS ARE THE PRODUCER OF THE SERIES, E. W. RICHTER, AND DR. LOUIS SCHNEIDER, PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY AT PURDUE UNIVERSITY. TODAY PROGRAM: THE NEGRO, THE CITY, AND CRIME. HERE NOW IS MR. RICHTER.

THE CRIMINALITY ATTRIBUTED TO NEGROES LOOMS LARGE IN THE THINKING OF MANY PEOPLE. TODAY WE TAKE UP THIS SUBJECT OF NEGRO CRIME. IN THE FIRST PLACE, LOU, IT'S MY UNDERSTANDING THAT SUCH STATISTICAL MATERIA AS WE HAVE, SEEMS TO SHOW THAT, FOR EXAMPLE, IN CITIES NEGROES ARE CRIMINALLY INCLINED FAR OUT OF PROPORTION TO THEIR REPRESENTATION IN THE POPULATION

I'M GLAD YOU'VE PUT THIS IN SUCH A CAUTIOUS WAY BY SAYING "SUCH STATISTICAL MATERIAL AS WE HAVE," AND THAT THIS MATERIAL "SEEMS TO SHOW" HIGH CRIMINAL INCLINATION ON THE PART OF THE NEGRO. OUR CRIMINAL STATISTICS, BY AND LARGE, LEAVE A GREAT DEAL TO BE DESIRED. THEY ARE TECHNICALLY IN MANY WAYS FAULTY. AND WHEN IT COMES TO THE NEGRO, VERY MANY QUESTIONS ARISE REGARDING THE MEANING OF THE STATISTICS. SO MANY, IN FACT, THAT WE CAN'T DO MORE THAN INDICATE A FEW OF THEM IN THIS PROGRAM....ONE MIGHT CONTEND THAT THE ESSENTIAL STORY OF THE NEGRO IN RELATION TO

CRIME IS REALLY A QUITE CLEAR, FORTHRIGHT THING. THE NEGRO IS FAR MORE READILY ARRESTED THAN THE WHITE MAN THE ORDINARY POLICEMAN IS FAR LESS AFRAID OF ARRESTI* A NEGRO, PARTICULARLY IN THE South, THAN HE IS OF ARRESTING A WHITE MAN. HE IS FAR LESS FEARFUL OF OVERSTEPPING THE BOUNDS OF WHAT HE MAY LEGALLY DO WHO HE DEALS WITH NEGROES THAN WHEN HE DEALS WITH WHITES. IT'S HARDLY A SECRET THAT JUDGES AND JURIES ARE FRE-QUENTLY PREJUDICED AGAINST THE NEGRO. IT WOULD NOT BE AN EASY THING TO CALCULATE THE DIMENSIONS OF WHAT I MIGHT CALL RACIALLY "DISPLACED" CRIME. BY WHICH I MEAN CRIME COMMITTED BY WHITE PERSONS FOR WHICH THE NEGRO IS PUNISHED. BUT THERE HAS UNDOUBTEDLY BEEN A GREAT DEAL OF IT. THE NEGRO HAS BEEN HANDICAPPED IN CONNECTION WITH PAROLE. ONE MIGHT SAY, BY ANALOGY WITH THE PHRASE THAT HAS BECOME SO FAMILIAR TO US IN APPLICATION TO THE LABOR MARKET, NAMELY "FIRST FIRED, LAST HIRED, " THAT IN THE SPHERE OF CRIME AND PUNISH-MENT THE SITUATION OF THE NEGRO CAN BE SUMMARIZED IN SOME SUCH WORD AS "FIRST ARRESTED, LAST RELEASED." NECESSARILY I OMIT MUCH BUT THIS IS REALLY THE GIST OF THE STORY WHATEVER THE DETAILS, THE ELABORATIONS, AND THE EXPLANATIONS THAT A FULLER STORY MIGHT HAVE TO PRESENT.

RICHTER:

I GATHER, THEN, THAT PARTICULARLY IN THE CASE OF THE NEGRO, YOU WOULD QUESTION CRIME STATISTICS INSOFAR AN ANYONE MIGHT CONTEND THAT THEY WERE A TRUE REFLECTION OF ACTUAL NEGRO CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR. BUT SUPPOSE, FOR INSTANCE, THAT NEGROES WERE ARRESTED ON CHARGES OF RAPE TEN TIMES AS FREQUENTLY AS WHITES...TAKING INTO ACCOUNT DIFFERENT PROPORTIONS OF NEGROES AND WHITES IN THE POPULATION. JOULD THIS JUSTIFY ANY STATEMENT SUCH AS: NEGROES ARE TEN TIMES AS LIKELY TO COMMIT RAPE AS WHITES?

SCHNEIDER:

FELL, I WOULD BE VERY DUBICUS OF A STATEMENT LIKE THAT. THERE WOULD BE DIFFICULTIES, ANYWAY, IN TAKIN INTERPRET ARRESTS AS INDICES OF CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR IN GENERAL. BUT, IN THE CASE OF THE NEGRO MORE ESPECIA LY, TO INTERPRET ARRESTS FOR RAPE AS ANYTHING LIKE A INDEX OF ACTUAL BEHAVIOR ON THE LINES OF RAPE WOULD BE ALMOST UNSPEAKABLY HAZARDOUS. ANY NUMBER OF CRIMINOLOGISTS HAVE INDICATED FULL AWARENESS OF THIS ONE, FOR EXAMPLE, SAYS IN A STANDARD AND WIDELY USED TEXTBOOK, "IT MUST BE EMPHASIZED THAT MERE FORNICAT! BETWEEN A NEGRO MAN AND A WHITE WOMAN IS APT TO BE . DEALT WITH AS RAPE IN THE SOUTH. ON THE OTHER HAND WHATEVER MAY BE THE TRUE ATTITUDES OF NEGRO WOMEN TOWARD SEXUAL RELATIONS WITH WHITE MEN, AND WHATEVER PRESSURE MAY BE BROUGHT TO BEAR UPON THEM TO SUBMIT EVEN WHEN UNWILLING, IT IS ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE FOR A WHITE MAN TO BE CONVICTED OF THE RAPE OF A NEGRO WOMAN. " AS AN ASIDE, LET ME REMARK, THAT THE CASE ! FLORIDA IN 1959 IN WHICH SEVERAL WHITE MEN WERE GIVEN LIFE SENTENCES FOR THE RAPE OF A NEGRO GIRL SHOWS THE BEGINNING OF CHANGE IN REGARD TO THIS LAST MATTER, BUTHAT IS SOMETHING ELSE. IT DOES SEEM PRETTY CLEAR THAT TO TAKE AT FACE VALUE, AS SHOWING, LET'S SAY, A TEN TIMES GREATER PROPENSITY TOWARD RAPE FOR NEGROES THAN FOR WHITES, ARREST DATA WHICH INDICATE THAT. NEGROES ARE TEN TIMES MORE FREQUENTLY ARRESTED FOR RAPE THAN WHITES (IN RELATION TO THEIR REPRESENTATION IN THE POPULATION) IS PURE FOOLISHNESS.

RICHTER:

I THINK THE THINGS YOU'VE MENTIONED SO FAR, LOU, SIMP THOUGH THEY BE, SHOULD BE DOCUMENTED. LET'S FIND SOM COMMENTARY ON THESE MATTERS. CAN WE RE-ENFORCE AT LEAST SOME OF THESE STATEMENTS YOU'VE MADE?

SCHNEIDER:

We can do that quite extensively. Let me start with an extract from an able discussion by the sociologist Guy B. Johnson, of "the Negro and Crime". The passage I select has reference to the police.

MIN 1:

THE POLICE HAVE AN ESPECIALLY STRATEGIC POSITION IN THE ADMINI GTRATION OF JUSTICE. VARIATIONS IN THEIR ACTIVITIES CAN PRODUCE FLUCTUATIONS IN ARREST STATISTICS WHICH HAVE NO RELATION TO THE NUMBER OF OFFENSES ACTUALLY COMMITTED. BY MISTREATMENT OR BRUTALITY TOWARD ANY GROUP OR CLAWS OF PEOPLE THEY CAN EVEN PROVOKE OR STIMULATE THE COMMISSION OF CRIME. THE NEGRO IS MORE EXPOSED TO THE MISUSE OF POLICE POWER THAN ANY OTHER GROUP.

THE POLICE CUSTOM OF ARRESTING NEGROES ON SLIGHT SUSPICION OR OF STAGING MASS 'ROUNDUPS' OF NEGROES IS DEFINITELY RELATED TO THE NEGRO'S LACK OF SECURITY AND HIS INABILITY TO EXERT PRESSURE AGAINST SUCH ABUSES. POLICE PRETTY GENERALLY FEEL THAT IN MAKING ARRESTS, HANDLING WITNESSES, AND OBTAINING CONFESSION THEY CAN USE BRUTE FORCE AGAINST NEGROES WITH IMPUNIT ... IN THE INTERPLAY OF BEHAVIOR BETWEEN THE POLICE AND THE NEGRO SUSPECTS THERE IS A RECIPROCAL EXPECT-ATION OF VIOLENCE. THE POLICE TOO QUICKLY USE GUN O. CLUB, AND NEGROES--ESPECIALLY THOSE WITH REPUTATIONS AS 'BAD NIGGERS' -- ARE KEYED TO A DESPERATE SHOOT-FIRS OR-YOU'LL-GET SHOT PSYCHOLOGY. THUS, WHAT STARTS OUT TO BE MERELY A QUESTIONING OR AN ARREST FOR A MIS-DEMEANOR MAY SUDDENLY TURN INTO VIOLENCE AND THE CHARGE OF MURDER AGAINST THE NEGRO.'

SCHNEIDER:

THE EXPERIENCES OF NEGROES AS VICTIMS OF POLICE MISTREATMENT MUST GIVE RISE TO CONSIDERABLE BITTERNESS, AND A FEELING THAT THE LAW IS UNJUST. THESE EXPERIENCES AND ATTITUDES DESERVE CAREFUL STUDY, FOR THEY ARE UNDOUBTEDLY CONTRIBUTORY TO BOTH THE REAL AND THE APPARENT CRIMINALITY OF NEGROES.

RICHTER:

LET US ADD TO THIS STATEMENT A COMMENT MADE BY CECIL POOL, ASSISTANT DISTRICT ATTORNEY IN SAN FRANCISCO.

POOL:

THERE ARE VARIOUS AREAS IN WHICH IT MUST BE SAID THAT THE NEGRO RECEIVES MORE THAN HIS SHARE OF ATTENTION : FROM LAW ENFORCEMENT. OBVIOUSLY, OF TEN PERSONS WALKING DOWN MONTGOMERY STREET BELOW US HERE, A NEGRO STANDS OUT. HE IS, HE IS IDENTIFIED -- HE IS NOT AMOR-PHOUS LIKE THE OTHER NINE, LET'S ASSUME THEY ARE WHITE. THEREFORE, IF ANY SUSPICION ATTENDS THE ACTIO OF ANY OF THESE TEN PERSONS, THE ACTIONS OF THE IDENT IFIES NEGRO WILL STAND OUT AS IF HE WERE LIT UP IN NEON. THEREFORE, HE'S A MORE EASY, A READIER TARGET FOR POLICE ATTENTION. HE GETS PICKED UP EASIER....HE HAS FEWER RESCURCES, BOTH FINANCIALLY, ECONOMICALLY, AND VERY OFTEN MENTALLY BECAUSE OF HIS RELATIVE, RELATIVELY, LOWER ACADEMIC AND EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIA-BACKGROUND. THEREFORE, HE TENDS TO BE MORE OF A CUSTODIAL AND POLICE PROBLEM FOR A LONGER PERIOD OF TIME AND TO HAVE LESS PROPORTIONATE CHANCE OF SG-CALLED BEATING THE RIP THAN WOULD HIS FELLOW WHITE PRISONER.

RICHTER:

COMMENT MADE BY HUBERT DELANEY ON THE BACKGROUND OF HIS EXPERIENCE AS A JUDGE IN THE NEW YORK MUNICIPAL COURTS. IN AN INFORMAL CHAT MR. DELANEY MADE IT CLEY THAT HE ALSO THOUGHT THAT THE NEGRO IS MORE QUICKLY AND READILY ARRESTED THAN HE WHITE MAN, MORE READILY CONVICTED, AND LIKELY TO RECEIVE A LONGER PRISON TERM. ON THIS OCCASION, HOWEVER, WE WANTED TO GET BEYOND THESE THINGS, AND WE ASKED WHY, IN MR. DELANEY MENT.

DEL NEY:

I THINK THERE ARE TWO REASONS. ONE, AND PROBABLY TH GREATEST REA ON, IS THE REASON THAT MORE POOR WHITE PECPLE ARE MORE FREQUENTLY ARRESTED AND MORE FRE-QUENTLY CONVICTED AND GIVEN LONGER SENTENCES THAN TH SO-CALLED 'WHITE-COLLAR' OR WEALTHY PERSON. - PERSO WHO HASN'T GOT A JOB CAN BE ARRESTED FOR DISORDERLY CONDUCT, OR HE'S MORE LIKELY TO COMMIT AN OFFENSE AGAINST SOCIETY IN ORDER TO EAT OR TO BE ABLE TO CAR FOR HIMSELF IF HE CAN'T GET A JOB. THAT'S ONE REASO I THINK WE HAVE BEEN REARED TO HAVE LESS SYMPATHY FO THE SC-CALLED POOR, BE HE WHITE OR BLACK. | THINK IT'S A PART OF OUR CULTURE, UNFORTUNATELY, THAT WE TEND TO LOOK OFF THE END OF OUR NOSE AT THOSE WHO HAVE NOT HAD THE SAME OPPORTUNITIES THAT THOSE OF US WHO HAVE HAD THE GOOD FORTUNE TO BE EDUCATED AND TO HAVE ACULTURAL BACKGROUND HAVE. THE OTHER REASON IS THAT THERE IS SO MUCH PROPAGANDA AGAINST NEGROES, TH STEREOTYPE PROPAGINDA THAT NEGROES ARE INNATELY LIAM

THAT THEY INNATELY STEAL, THAT THEY WILL OUT YOU AND THAT THEY WILL DO OTHER ACTS OF VIOLENCE, MAKES SOME JUDGES WHO CALL THEMSELVES GOOD JUDGES THINK THAT THE BEST WAY TO DEAL WITH A NEGRO WHO RUNS AFOUL OF THE LAW IS TO GIVE HIM THE LONGEST PUNISHMENT THAT THEY CAN.

SCHNEIDER: 1 FIND THAT LAST STATEMENT A VERY INTERESTING ONE. MR. DELANEY SEES HOW A FACTOR HAVING NOTHING TO DO WITH RACE COMPLICATES A RACIAL PROBLEM. WE'VE ENCOUNTERED THIS SORT OF THING BEFORE IN SPEAKING ABOUT HOUSING. IT'S REALLY QUITE IMPORTANT ALSO IN THE AREA WE'RE TALKING ABOUT TODAY. THE NEGRO PARTI-CIPATES IN THE AMERICAN CULTURE. HE IS BOUND TO BE INFLUENCED BY AMERICAN VALUES WITH REGARD TO WHAT IS GOOD, WORTHWHILE, WORTH HAVING. AND OURS IS STILL A CULTURE THAT PLACES APPRECIABLE STRESS UPON VARIOUS MATERIAL THINGS THAT MAY BE OBTAINED WITH MONEY. BUT AT THE SAME TIME THE NEGRO IS BY VIRTUE OF HIS LOW INCOME, LOW EDUCATIONAL LEVEL, AND BY VIRTUE OF OTHE THINGS STILL, ESPECIALLY HANDICAPPED IN THE EFFORT TO OBTAIN THE SC-CALLED "GOOD THINGS OF LIFE" THROUGH LEGITIMATE CHANNELS. THE MORE POWERFULLY HE IS IMBUE WITH THE CONVICTION THAT IT IS GOODTO HAVE FINE MATERIAL THINGS, SUCH AS SWANKY AUTOMOBILES, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME HIS INCOME AND EDUCATION REMAIN AT LOW LEVELS. THE MORE POWERFUL SECOMES THE TEMPTATION TO REACH FOR THE SO-CALLED FINE THINGS BY MEINS THAT ARE OUTSIDE THE LAW. AND HERE THE NEGRO IS INVOLVED IN A SITUATION MUCH LIKE THAT WHICH HAS BEEN SAID TO HOLD FOR NUMBERS OF WHITE PEOPLE BY SOME VERY CAPABLE SOCIAL SCIENTISTS. BUT WE HAVE TO REMEMBER. ONCE AGAIN, THAT THE WHOLE NEGRO CLASS STRUCTURE IS, AS IT WERE, LOW PITCHED, AND THEREFORE THE PRESSURE TO TRANSCEND LEGAL MEANS OF OBTAINING THINGS HITS NEGROE PARTICULARLY HARD....ALWAYS ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THEY HAVE, IN FACT, BEEN STRONGLY IMBUED WITH THE GENERAL VALUES THAT EMPHASIZE THE EXCELLENCE OF HAVIN FINE MATERIAL GOODS AND THINGS.

RICHTER:

√HAT YOU'RE SAYING SUGGESTS THAT NEGRO CRIME IS AT A HIGHER RATE IN ACTUALITY THAN WHITE CRIME.

SCHNE | DER :

THAT IS QUITE POSSIBLE, AND EVEN LIKELY IN SOME AREAS OF CRIMINAL ACTIVITY, PERHAPS IN A GOOD MANY. AT THE SAME TIME, THERE ARE UNDOUBTEDLY AREAS OF CRIMINAL ACTIVITY IN WHICH NEGROES ARE NOT WELL REPRESENTED, SIMPLY BECAUSE THEY CANNOT BE. RELATIVELY VERY FEW NEGROES, FOR EXAMPLE, COULD, AS INDIVIDUALS, CHEAT TH GOVERNMENT OF VAST SUMS OF MONEY DUE ON INCOME TAX. BUT LET ME RETURN TO MY POINT. | BELIEVE THE SITUATI I'VE DESCRIBED IS REAL. AND IT HAS ITS CONSEQUENCES. FOR EXAMPLE, NEGRO RACKETEERS WHO MAKE A GOOD DEAL OF MONEY ARE OFTEN LOOKED UP TO WITH ADMIRATION IN THE

NEGRO COMMUNITY. IN A LESS POVERTY-STRICKEN COMMUNIT THEY MIGHT BE LOOKED AT ASKANCE BECAUSE OF THE SHADY OR ILLEGAL WAY IN WHICH THEY MAKE THEIR MONEY. "HERE THE NEGRO DOES NOT LOOK ASKANCE AT NEGRO RACKETEERS. HE IS IN A SENSE BEING A TRUE MERICAN. HE IS ADMIR-ING THE SUCCESSFUL MONEY MAKER. AND, IT IS PERHAPS TOO MUCH TO EXPECT THAT HE WILL ALWAYS MAKE THE RESEK VATION THAT THE SUCCESSFUL MONEY MAKER MAY NOT HAVE COME BY HIS GAINS LEGITIMATELY. THAT SORT OF RESERVA TION, IF YOU WILL, IS A BIT OF A LUXURY. YOU CAN EXPECT IT MORE READILY IN A LESS POVERTY-STRICKEN COMMUNITY. BUT WE CAN SEE IN ALL THIS THE NEGRO'S VERY REAL CULTURAL INVOLVEMENT. HIS CRIMINALITY AND HIS ADMIRATION FOR AT LEAST SOME KINDS OF CRIMINAL OR QUASI-CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR ARE DEFINITELY BOUND UP WITH THE CULTURE IN WHICH HE LIVES AND MOVES AND HAS HIS BEING:

RICHTER:

THIS MATTER OF THE NEGRO'S CULTURAL INVOLVEMENT IS CERTAINLY AN INTERESTING THING. How else would you say cultural factors are bound up with the Negro's CRIMINALITY?

SCHNE IDER:

WELL, THERE'S A VARIETY OF THINGS TO BE SAID IN THIS CONNECTION. FOR ONE, THE NEGRO IN MERICA EMERGES FROM THE SOUTH, AND IT IS WELL KNOWN THAT THE SOUTH HAS A LONG TRADITION OF RELIANCE ON VIOLENCE. CON-SISTENTLY, FOR EXAMPLE, RATES FOR HOMICIDE HAVE BEEN CONSIDERABLY HIGHER FOR THE SOUTH THAN FOR OTHER REGIONS OF THE NATION. FRONTIER CONDITIONS AND THE PECULIARITIES OF THE SLAVE INSTITUTION NO DOUBT CON-TRIBUTE HEAVILY TO THIS SITUATION. VILBUR CASH, IN HIS THE WIND OF THE SOUTH, IN ONE OF HIS NUMEROUS REFERENCES TO VIOLENCE IN THE SOUTH REMARKS, "HOWEVER CAREFUL THEY MIGHT BE TO WALK SOFTLY, SUCH MEN AS THESE OF THE SOUTH WERE BOUND TO COME OFTEN INTO CONFLICT. AND BEING WHAT THEY WERE--SIMPLE, DIRECT, AND IMMENSELY PERSONAL--AND THEIR WORLD BEING WHAT IT WAS, CONFLICT WITH THEM COULD ONLY MEAN FISTICUFFS, THE GOUGING RING, AND KNIFE AND GUNPLAY. TRONTIER LAWLESSNESS, AND THE DEFENSELESSNESS OF THE NEGRO, H. MUCH TO DO, IT'S BEEN SUGGESTED, WITH THE UNAMIABLE TENDENCY TOWARD LYNCHING. OF COURSE, THE NEGRO WAS OFTEN THE VICTIM OF LYNCHING, ALTHOUGH HE WAS HARDLY ALONE IN THIS. THE PROPENSITY TO TAKE THE LAW INTO ONE'S OWN HANDS MADE MANY OTHERS BESIDES THE NEGRO VICTIMS OF LYNCHING. HOWEVER, WHAT I WISH TO PROPOSE IS THAT THE NEGRO HAS SUFFERED FROM THE LYNCHING TEND ENCY, IF I MAY TAKE THAT AS SYMBOLIC OR INDICATIVE, OTHER WAYS THAN AS THE DIRECT VICTIM OF THE AGGRESSIC IT REPRESENTS. HE HIMSELF HAS BEEN INFLUENCED BY THE ENTIRE VIOLENCE PATTERN. KNIFE TOTING, GUN CARRYING. AND READINESS TO ENGAGE IN VIOLENCE AND LAWLESS CUT-BURSTS HAVE GOTTEN INTO THE HERITAGE OF THE NEGRO. AT HAVE LANDED HIM IN TROUBLE BOTH INSIDE AND OUTSIDE TH SOUTH.

RICHTER:

Now I want to stop you on this, Lou. You speak of th Negro's knife toting, gun carrying, and proneness to engage in violence as getting him into trouble. Well wouldn't you have to make at least one qualification to begin with? That is that a great deal of Negro Lawlessness has been condoned in the South as long as it's been directed toward other Negroes. I understan that there's been a good deal of this kind of thing.

SCHNEIDER:

I THINK YOU'RE QUITE RIGHT. THE QUALIFICATION IS A NECESSARY ONE. THE RELEVANT LITERATURE IS FILLED WIT ACCOUNTS, FOR EXAMPLE, OF NEGROES WHO ARE AT THE SAME TIME GENTLE AND SELF-HUMBLING IN THE FACE OF WHITES, BUT UNRESTRAINEDLY AGGRESSIVE IN RELATION TO OTHER NEGROES. AND SUCH NEGROES FREQUENTLY GET PROTECTION FROM WHITE PATRONS WHO WILL MINIMIZE THEIR FAULTS.... AND EVEN ALLOW THEM TO GO SCOTT FREE WHEN THEY HAVE BEHAVED FELONIOUSLY. IN THE ARTICLE BY GUY JOHNSON, WHICH WE'VE ALREADY QUOTED TODAY, JOHNSON MAKES THIS PERTINENT COMMENT:

MAN 1:

Too many cases fit into the following pattern. The sporty Negro butler for a wealthy white man is circumspect in his work, but is considered something of "menace" by his fellow Negrœs. He deliberately murders a Negro girl who has spurned his attentions. Being ably defended by his employer he receives a light sentence for manslaughter, and he has scarcely begun to serve this when his employer obtains his parcle because he is anxious not to lose the Negro's services.

RICHTER:

IN INTERESTING PATTERN. I CAN'T HELP WONDERING WHAT THIS MUST DO TO THE WHITE MAN'S OWN RESPECT FOR LAW WHEN HE FLOUTS IT IN THIS WAY FOR THE BENEFIT OF FAVORED NEGROES WHOSE CRIMES HAVE "ONLY" BEEN AGAINST OTHER NEGROES.....BUT NOW, ANOTHER MATTER, LOU. JOULDN'T THIS TENDENCY TOWARD VIOLENCE, EVEN IF IT HABEEN IN THE HERITAGE OF THE NEGRO, ALSO BE BOUND UP WITH CLASS?

SCHNEIDER:

YES. OF COURSE, I WOULDN'T WANT TO BE MISUNDERSTOOD, AND I'M GLAD YOU BRING THIS POINT UP. THERE ARE MIDDLE CLASS NEGROES WHOSE BEHAVIOR IS AS DISCREET AN LAW ABIDING AS THAT OF ANYONE, AND I DON'T MEAN EITHE THAT ALL LOWER CLASS NEGROES ARE NON-LAW-ABIDING.
BUT THE EVIDENCE WE HAVE DOES SUGGEST THAT THE TENDERCY TOWARD DIRECT VIOLENT ACTION IS BOUND UP WITH POSITION IN THE CLASS STRUCTURE.

RICHTER:

AND THAT, IN TURN, I SUPPOSE, SUGGESTS THE ENTIRE BACKGROUND OF CITIES AND SLUMS. BUT NOW, LET'S SEE HOW SOME OF THE THINGS WE'VE BEEN SPEAKING ABOUT MAY REFLECT THEMSELVES IN THE CONCRETE LIFE OF THE INDI-

VIDUAL. IN OTHER WORDS, LET'S LOOK AT NEGRO CRIME AS IT MIGHT APPEAR, SAY, IN THE WORK OF A NOVELIST, OR IN THE CASE WORK OF A SOCIAL WORKER. CAN WE GET SOME THING OF A VIVID, DETAILED PICTURE OF AN INDIVIDUAL OFFENDER, LOU?

SCHNEIDER:

I DON'T DOUBT THAT WE CAN; THERE ARE CASE STUDIES GALORE THAT APPEAR IN THE DOCUMENTS OF CRIMINGLOGISTS AND SOCIAL WORKERS, AND THERE'S PLENTY OF FICTIONAL MATERIAL WHICH RINGS AS TRUE AS ANYTHING THAT YOU MAY FIND IN THE CASE STUDIES. IF WE WANT TO BE VIVID AND CONCRETE, THERE'S LITTLE, | SUPPOSE, THAT WOULD FIT OUR BILL BETTER THAN THE VIRTUALLY CLASSIC DESCRIP-TION OF BIGGER THOMAS WHICH RICHARD WRIGHT PRESENTED IN NATIVE SON. LET ME DRAW ON MY MEMORY OF THE NOVEL WHAT ESPECIALLY STANDS OUT NOW, MANY YEARS AFTER MY READING THE BOOK, IS SCENES LIKE THESE: BIOGER FACES AND KILLS A DANGEROUS RAT IN THE VERMIN INFESTED DWELLING IN WHICH HE LIVES. BIGGER, AND A NUMBER OF FRIENDS, LOOK INTO THE SKY AND WISTFULLY WATCH AIR-PLANES WHICH THEY KNOW, OF COURSE, ARE PILOTED BY WHITE MEN. ONE OF THE BOYS MAKES SOME COMMENT TO THE EFFECT THAT IT WOULD BE A WONDERFUL THING FOR A NEGRC BOY TO BE ABLE TO PILOT ONE OF THOSE JOBS. BUT THIS BRINGS ONLY SAD, CYNICAL RESPONSE. THESE BOYS-KNOW THAT THEY ARE CUT OFF FROM SUCH POSSIBILITIES.... BIGGER HAS KILLED A WHITE GIRL. THIS MURDER HAS TO BE SEEN AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF WHAT HIS LIFE HAS BEEN.... A LIFE OF POVERTY, AND A LIFE THAT GRINDS EVERY ONE OF HIS ASPIRATIONS INTO THE GROUND. AND BIGGER FINALLY SEES IT IN THIS WAY. AND TO THE UTTER HORROR OF HIS LAWYER, A WHITE MAN, HE TAKES SATIS-FACTION IN HIS CRIME. IT IS AS IF HE WERE SAYING THE 'HERE, NGW, ALL MY LIFE !'VE SOUGHT FOR OUTLETS, FOR WAYS OF BEING MYSELF. BUT I WAS NEVER ABLE TO FIND ANYTHING THAT WOULD REALLY MEET MY NEEDS. AND YET 114 BIGGER THOMAS. I'M AN "I," I'VE GOT TO EXPRESS MYSEL SOME WAY. THE ACT OF KILLING THIS GIRL WAS SCMETHING THAT | DID. IT EXPRESSED SOMETHING OF ME. IT HAS A GENUINENESS THAT | WON'T REPUDIATE. | CAN TAKE SATISFACTION. THE ACT HAS MY MARK ON IT. HATEVER YOU MAY SAY, I CAN'T BE SORRY | DID IT. | F CREATIVIT' MEANS ANYTHING THIS WAS MY CREATIVE ACT.

RICHTER:

's I UNDERSTAND IT, THROUGH THE DLOCKING OF, SHALL WE SAY, NORMAL OUTLETS, THIS BOY'S INDIVIDUALITY AND CREATIVITY EXPRESSED THEMSELVES IN THE UTTERLY PERVERFORM OF MURDER.

SCHNEIDER:

YES. I THINK THIS IS WHAT DRIGHT WAS TRYING TO TELL E AND THE IMPLICATION IS THAT IN A DIFFERENT, MORE CONGRESSIAL, MORE ACCEPTANT MILIEU OR SET-UP, BIGGER THOMAS MIGHT WELL NEVER HAVE COME TO THE KIND OF ACTION IN

WHICH HE ENGAGED. I THINK, OF COURSE, THAT IT WAS AS FAR AS POSSIBLE FROM ARIGHT'S MIND TO CONDONE MURDER. BUT I DO BELIEVE THE ARTIST'S INTENTION WAS TO MAKE MURDER UNDERSTANDABLE TO US. AND, ONE MIGHT ADD, THAT HE WAS, ALLOW ME TO PUT IT THIS WAY, RATHER GRUESOMELY SUCCESSFUL.

RICHTER:

You emphasize making criminal actions understandable. Right now, however, I can't help thinking that we've said nothing about Negro family background. RecognizING that we still don't know with the precision we'd like just what the causal factors in crime and delinquency are, I'm still very much aware That many authorities regard family background as, in one way or another, and in varying degress, quite important in relation to crime and delinquency. Hence, I'd like us, at this point, to listen briefly to one of the cruntry's authorities on the Negro family, Dr. E. Franklin Franklin Frazier.

FRAZIER:

IT MAY SOUND STARTLING TO SOMEONE TO REALIZE THAT IN MOST OF CUR CITIES, LARGE CITIES ESPECIALLY, ABOUT 30. OF NEGRO FAMILIES HAVE A FEMALE HEAD. NOW THIS FEMALE HEAD ISN'T DUE TO WIDOWHOOD, BECAUSE THAT WOULD IMPLY A TERRIFIC DEATH RATE AMONG NEGRO HUSBANDS. It'S DUE TO A NUMBER OF FACTORS: IT'S DUE TO THE FACT THAT ILLIGETIMACY IS STILL HIGH AMONG NEGROES AND THEREFORE THE WOMAN BEARS THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR HER CHILDREN: IT'S ALSO DUE TO THE FACT THAT NEGRO HUSBANDS DESERT -IN FAIRLY LARGE NUMBER, IT'S HARD TO GET ANY EXACT MEASURE OF THAT BUT | WOULD SAY THAT DESERTION CAUSES A LARGE NUMBER OF NEGRO WOMEN TO BE RESPONSIBLE FOR THEIR FAMILIES. SO THAT WE HAVE THIS PHENOMENON OF ABOUT 30% OF NEGRO FAMILIES IN MANY OF OUR LARGE CITIZ WITH A FEMALE HEAD. NOW, ANYONE REALIZES THAT THAT IS AN EXTREMELY ABNORMAL CONDITION, IT'S ABNORMAL IN THE SENSE THAT IT MUST HAVE TREMENDOUS CONSEQUENCES F THE REARING OF CHILDREN, NOT ONLY THE BREAKDOWN OF FAMILY DISCIPLINE WHERE THERE'S NO MAN PRESENT, IT.... NOT ONLY THAT THE CHILD IS NEGLECTED BECAUSE THE MOTHE MUST WORK, BUT ALSO IN THE PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT OF NEGRO CHILDREN. THERE IS NO MALE MODEL IN THE HOME TO HELP IN MOLDING THIS CHILD'S PERSONALITY, AND PROBABLY SOME DAY SOME SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGIST WILL MAKE A STUDY T. SHOW THE INFLUENCE OF FEMALE DOMINANCE IN NEGRO FAMIL! UPON THE PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT OF NEGROES, ESPECIALL NEGRO MALES.

RICHTER:

Would you'llike to comment on this, Lou? Does what Dr Frazier says bear on Negro crime and delinquency?

SCHNEIDER:

Well, AS YOU'VE SUGGESTED YOURSELF, JALT, WE MIGHT CERTAINLY HAVE MORE EXACT, UNAMBIGUOUS KNOWLEDGE OF

CRIME AND DELINQUENCY THAN WE HAVE. THE NOTION THAT FAMILY FACTORS AND INFLUENCES ARE OF IMPORTANCE IN CONNECTION WITH CRIME AND DELINQUENCY HAS SOME SUPPORT AND IS IN AT LEAST SOME DEGREE PLAUSIBLE. BUT I MUST STRONGLY STRESS THAT WE NEED MUCH MORE, AND MORE A ACCURATE, KNOWLEDGE IN THESE MATTERS. IF, FOR EXAMPLE AS DR. FRAZIER CONTEND., NEGRO BOYS SO OFTEN LACK MALE MODELS, JUST WHAT DOES THIS MEAN? IN EXACTLY WHAT WAY MAY IT BE INCITEMENT TO DELINQUENCY? FOULD IT INVARIBABLY LEAD TO DELINQUENCY? IF SO, WHY? IF NOT, WHY NO IF DELINQUENCY IS SOMETIMES AN OUTCOME OF SUCH A SITUATION, WHAT OTHER THINGS MAY BE ASSOCIATED WITH SUCH A SITUATION? THERE ARE COUNTLESS OTHER QUESTIONS THAT SUGGEST THEMSELVES.

RICHTER:

ME NEED, THEN, TO KNOW MORE THAN WE DO. BUT WOULD YOU NOT SAY THAT WE HAVE AT LEAST SOME FAIRLY GOOD GENERAL UNDERSTANDINGS OF FACTORS THAT IMPELL THE NEGRO TO CRIME AND DELINQUENCY?

SCHNE LDER:

YES. I THINK I WOULD. AND THOSE FACTORS WOULD INCLUS A GOOD MANY MODE THINGS THAN WE'VE BEEN ABLE TO MENTION THE CULTURAL BACKGROUNDS OF THE NEGRO, THE DEPRESSED CLASS AND STATUS SITUATION OF THE WHOLE NEGRO COMMUNITY, SUCH FACTORS AS THE HERITAGE OF LAWLESSNESS WHICH WAS NENTIONED, THE FREQUENT ABRUPTNESS OF THE TRANSITION OF THE NEGRO FROM A RURAL AND SOUTHERN ENVIRONMENT TO A NORTHERN OR MESTERN AND URBAN ONE...THESE, TO DE SURE, AND NUMBERS OF CTHER THINGS, SMAKE NEGRO CRIME AND EXCESSIVE NEGRO CRIME WHERE THAT EXISTS, REASONABLE COMPREHENSIBLE.

RICHTER:

I TAKE IT, THEN, THAT YOU WOULD NOT FIND IT ANY MORE NECESSARY HERE THAN ELSEWHERE TO SUPPOSE OR PRESUME, THAT THE NEGRO HAS INNATE OR INBORN QUALITIES THAT PROPELL HIM IN THE DIRECTION OF CRIME AND DELINQUENCY

SCHNEIDER:

No, I SEE NO REASON FOR MAKING SUCH A SUPPOSITION OR. HOLDING TO SUCH A PRESUMPTION.

RICHTER:

THEN, DO YOU THINK THAT IT WOULD BE A FAIR INFERENCE THAT IF AND WHEN THE NEGRO'S CRIMINALITY IS HIGH, FOR EXAMPLE, THIS WOULD BE DUE TO FACTORS THAT WOULD MAKE THE CRIME RATES OF NON-NEGROES ALSO HIGH? IF THE NEN-NEGROES WERE SUBJECTED TO THE SPECIAL CONDITIONS THAT MAY INFLATE NEGRO CRIME RATES?

SCHNEIDER:

I THINK THAT THIS WOULD BE A PRETTY FAIR INFERENCE.
YOU MAY REMEMBER THAT IN A PREVIOUS PROGRAM WE NOTED
THAT ACCORDING TO THE RESEARCHES OF SOME OF THE OLDER
CHICAGO SOCIAL SCIENTISTS THERE ARE SO-CALLED PATHOLOGIES--LIKE HIGH ORIME RATES, HIGH RATES FOR CERTAIN
KINDS OF MENTAL ILLNESS, AND SO ON--WHICH TEND TO BE
PECULIAR TO AREAS OF THE CITY, RATHER THAN TO ANY

PARTICULAR NATIONALITY OR RACIAL GROUP. AND, AS VARIOUS GROUPS MOVE OUT FROM THESE AREAS THEY TEND TO SLUFF OFF THE PATHOLOGIES WHICH REMAIN IN THE AREA. I WOULD SUGGEST THAT THIS STILL GIVES US A PRETTY GOOD BASIC MODEL IN TERMS OF WHICH TO CONCEIVE SOME OF THE PROBLEMS WHICH WE'VE BEEN DISCUSSING TODAY. THERE IS NO COMPELLING REASON WHATEVER TO THINK THAT THE SHAPE OF NEGRO CRIME WOULD NOT CHANGE AS THE NEGRO'S CULTURE AND SOCIAL CIRCUMSTANCES CHANGE.

RICHTER:

Vell, THANK YOU, Lou. Today we have discussed the MATTER OF CRIME AMONG NEGROES. OUR GUESTS TODAY WERE MR. CECIL POOL, ASSISTANT DISTRICT ATTORNEY IN SAN FRANCISCO; JUDGE HUBERT DELANEY OF New YORK CITY; AND DR. E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER, CHAIRMAN OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AT HOWARD UNIVERSITY. Next week WE TOUCH OF NEGRO CULTURE AS WE TAKE UP THE MATTER OF NEGRO CHURCHES, RELIGIOUS LIFE, AND CHURCH ACTIVITIES. JE INVITE YOU TO JOIN US THEN AS WE CANTINUE TO DELVE INTO THE LIFE AND PROBLEMS OF THE NEGRO IN AMERICA... "THE LAST CITIZEN".

MUSIC: THEME UP NO UNDER

.NM.CR:

YOU HAVE BEEN LISTENING TO DR. LOUIS SCHNEIDER, PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY AT PURDUE UNIVERSITY, AND THE PROGRAM'S PRODUCER-DIRECTOR, E. J. RICHTER, AS THEY DISCUSS "THE LAST CITIZEN." THIS PROGRAM WAS PRODUCE AND RECORDED BY JOHN, PURDUE UNIVERSITY, UNDER A GRANTER OF EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION AND RADIO CENTER AND BEING DISTRIBUTED BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EDUCATIONAL PROADCASTERS.

MUSIC: THEME UP TO FINISH

INNER: THIS IS THE NIEB RADIO NETWORK.

THE L.ST CITIZEN

PROGRAM #13
"THE NEGRO, ORGANIZED
RELIGION AND THE CHURC

DE TS:

Some people have argued that the Negroes have a genius for religion. I'm not quite sure at all that Negroes are more emotional by nature, are more religious by ature. But they've certainly, in this country, been much more restricted in their opportunities, and this restriction means that in the channels that are open to them they have made full use of these channels.

MUSIC: STINGER

.NNCR:

THAT WAS DR. PAUL DEATS OF THE BUSTON UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY FROM WHOM WE SHALL HEAR MORE AS WE TAKE UP THE SUBJECT OF RELIGION IN DISCUSSING THE NEGRO IN AMERICA, "THE LAST CITIZEN."

MUSIC: STINGER

.NNCR:

THE LAST CITIZEN: THE NEGRO IN AMERICA. A SERIES OF PROGRAMS DEVOTED TO THE EXTENSION OF OUR KNOWLEDG OF THE LARGEST MINORITY GROUP IN THE UNITED STATES, ITS PROBLEMS, AND THE PROBLEMS IT 2008S TO ALL MERICANS. THE LAST CITIZEN IS PRODUCED BY RADIO STATIC ADDAM, PURDUE UNIVERSITY, UNDER A GRANT FROM THE FEDUCATIONAL TELEVISION AND RADIO CENTER, IN COOPERATION WITH THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EDUCATIONAL BROADCA THE DISCUSSANTS ARE THE PRODUCER OF THE SERIES, E. RICHTER, AND DR. LOUIS SCHNEIDER, PROFESSOR OF SOCICLOGY AT PURDUE UNIVERSITY. TODAY'S PROGRAM: THE NEGRO, ORGANIZED RELIGION, AND THE CHURCH. HERE NOVIS MR. RICHTER.

RICHTER:

THE AMERICAN NEGRO HAS BY CRITERIA OF CHURCH MEMBER-SHIP BEEN CERTAINLY AS DEVOUT A CHRISTIAN AS THE SMERICAN WHITE MAN. BUT THE HOUSE OF CHRISTIANITY ITSELF IS NOTORICUSLY SPLIT ON COLOR LINES. IN HIS CLASSIC STUDY ON THE SOCIAL SOURCES OF DENOMINATION. ALISM, THE THEOLOGIAN H. RICHARD NIEBUHR MADE A REMARK TO THE EFFECT THAT THE VARIOUS CHURCHES OF CHRISTENDOM HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO WEAVE A SINGLE 1. GARMENT OF CHRIST TO FIT THE SEAMLESS VESTURE OF HI SPIRIT. SURELY, IF THIS COMMENT APPLIES ANYWHERE IT APPLIES TO THE CASE OF THE HE VILY SEGREGATED NEGRO CHURCHES. Today, WE WISH TO EXAMINE SOME OF THE BACKGROUNDS OF THIS SEGREGATION AND IN GENERAL TO ACHIEVE AN OVERVIEW OF THE RELIGIOUS SITUATION OF THE NEGRO IN THE UNITED STATES. I THINK WE MIGHT BEGIN WITH A BIT OF HISTORY ON THE MATTER OF THE RELATION OF THE NEGRO TO CHRISTIANITY.

SCHNEIDER:

NEGROES WERE GIVEN CHRISTIAN BAPTISM FROM THE BEGIN-NING OF THEIR HISTORY IN THIS COUNTRY. THERE WERE SOME DIFFICULTIES ABOUT CHRISTIANIZING THE NEGRO BECAUSE, AS WE ALREADY KNOW FROM PREVIOUS DISCUSSION NUMBERS OF MEN MEDE UNCERTAIN ABOUT THE COMBINATION OF THE STATUSES OF CHRISTIAN AND SLAVE. BUT THESE DIFFICULTIES TENDED TO DISAPPEAR AND IT WAS SOON A SIDELY ENOUGH ACCEPTED NOTION THAT THE NEGRO COULD O BOTH SLAVE AND CHRISTIAN. IN THE 18TH CENTURY VARIO CHRISTIAN GROUPS EXERCIZED INFLUENCE OVER NEGROES. INCLUDING PRESBYTERIANS, QUAKERS, CATHOLICS, AND MCRAVIANS. BUT IT WAS THE BAPTISTS AND METHODISTS WHO REALLY MADE A POWERFUL IMPRESSION UPON THE NEGRO PEOPLE. AND THIS IMPRESSION REALLY BEGAN TO BE A NOTABLE ONE AFTER THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR. THE BAPTIS AND METHODIST GROUPS ARE THE GREAT NEGRO DENOMINATION AL GROUPS TODAY.

RICHTER:

LET ME INTERRUPT TO ASK ABOUT THE RELATIONS OF THE NEGROES TO WHITES IN CONNECTION WITH THIS MATTER OF RELIGION. DURING THE SLAVE PENIOD DID NEGROES PART. CIPATE IN THE RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES OF THEIR MASTERS

SCHNEIDER:

THERE WAS A GOOD DEAL OF PARTICIPATION IN THE RELI-GIOUS LIFE OF THE MASTERS. CHURCH SERVICES WERE OFTEN CONDUCTED TO WHICH EVEN NEGRO HOUSE-SERVANTS WERE GRANTED A MISSION THEY WERE SERVICES. THEREFORE, WHICH WERE CARRIED NOT FOR WHITES AND NEGROES TOGETHER. OT THE SAME TIME IT'S TRUE THAT NUMBERS OF NEGRO PREACHERS WERE ALLOWED TO CONDUCT SERVICES AMONG THE SLAVES. THERE WAS SOME FEAR OF THIS SORT OF THING ON THE PART OF WHITES, AND IT'S WORTH REMEMBERING THAT THE VIRGINIA INSURRECTION OF 1831 WAS LED BY NAT TURNER WHO WAS A BIBLE-READER. MYSTIC, A BAPTIST. THITES WANTED TO MAKE SURE THAT NOTHING THAT MIGHT SOMEHOW LEAD TO REBELLION WAS GENERATED WITHIN THE ALL-NEGRO CHURCH MEETINGS. BU THIS IS SOMEWHAT BY THE WAY. | STARTED BY SAYING. IN ANSWER TO YOUR QUESTION, THAT THERE WAS MUCH PARTICIPATION ON THE PART OF NEGROES IN THE RELIGIO LIFE OF THE WHITE MASTERS. THIS PARTICIPATION HAS BEEN DOCUMENTED AGAIN VERY RECENTLY BY VILLIS D. VEATHERFORD IN A VOLUME ON AMERICAN CHURCHES AND TH NEGRO. WEATHERFORD INCLINES TO THINK THAT THERE WAS WIDESPREAD DEEP SYMPATHY AND SCLICITUDE FOR THE SLAVE AS A CHILD OF GOD. THE NEGRO WAS UNDER SLAVE ACCORDING TO GOD'S PLAN, BUT HE WAS NONETHELESS A CHILD OF GOD. WEATHERFORD ASSERTED. "THE ANTE-BELLU WHITE CHRISTIANS LOOKED UPON THE NEGRO AS A POSSIBL SON OF GOD WHO HAD A RIGHT TO EVERY PRIVILEGE OF TH CHURCH, AND IT DID NOT OFFEND THEM TO SEE HIM PAR-TAKING OF ALL THESE PRIVILEGES; BUT POLITICALLY AND ECONOMICALLY THE SLAVE RESTED UNDER THE CURSE AND

HAD NO STANDING." MEATHERFORD GOES ON TO SAY, "AE OF THE PRESENT TIME HAVE REVERSED THE ATTITUDE. WE CLAIM THAT THE NEGRO HAS FULL RIGHTS TO ECONOMIC, CIVIL AND POLITICAL FREED.MS, GUT WE ARE SURE THAT SOCIALLY AND RELIGIOUSLY HE MUST BE COMPLETELY SEPARATE AND SEGREGATED." I'M NOT QUITE SURE WHOM MEATHE FORD MEANS BY "WE", AND I'M SOMEWHAT INCLINED TO THINK, IF I MAY SAY SO, THAT HIS CONTRASTS ARE TOO STARK. FOR ONE THING I THINK HE UNDERPLAYS THE FORCE OF THE WHITE MAN'S MOTIVATION TO KEEP THE NEGRO IN A SUBMISSIVE STATE, EVEN IF THERE WAS, AS WITHOUT DOUGT THERE WAS, SOME GENUINE SINCERITY IN SEEKING TO IMBUTHE NEGRO WITH CHRISTIANITY SENTIMENTS. YET, "VEATHE FORD DOES REMIND US THAT THERE WAS AN IMPORTANT PRACTICE AND TRADITION AMONG SLAVEHOLDERS OF ADMITTITHE NEGRO TO THE WHITE MAN'S WORSHIP.

RICHTER: CAN WE SWITCH? THATTABOUT THE CHARACTER OF THE Negro's Religion?

SCHNEIDER: NEGRO RELIGION IN THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN CHARAC-TERIZED BY A GOOD DEAL OF EMOTIONALISM....BY ECSTATI BEHAVIOR BY SHOUTING BY POWERFUL CONTAGION OF FEELING. THIS, ONCE AGAIN, IS PROBABLY CONNECTED WITH THE GENERALLY LOW EDUCATIONAL AND ECGNOMIC LEVELS ACHIEVED BY THE NEGRO. IT HAS BEEN A GENUINE TENDENCY, MEVERTHELESS, FROM NEGRO RELIGION OF NEGRO INTELLECTUALS. ANOTHER THING ONE MIGHT MENTION. OF THOSE THAT COME TO MIND, IS THE CIRCUMSTANCE THAT, HOW SHALL I- PUT IT? SO MUCH HAS BEEN DEMANDED AND FOUND BY THE NEGRO IN HIS RELIGION. HISTORICALL THE CHURCH HAS BEEN TREMENDOUSLY IMPORTANT IN THE NEGRO COMMUNITY AND NEGROES HAVE LOOKED TO IT NOT ONLY FOR GUIDANCE IN RELIGIOUS MATTERS BUT IN A THOUSAND AND ONE OTHER THINGS. OF COURSE, THIS WOUL BE TRUE TO AN APPRECIABLE EXTENT FOR SOME WHITE GROUPS. BUT I THINK IT'S CORRECT ENOUGH TO SAY THAT IN THIS MATTER OF SEEKING FOR SO MUCH -- FOR SO MANY KINDS OF SATISFACTIONS AND CUTLETS IN HIS RELIGION, THE NEGRO IS, IN MYRDAL'S PHRASE, "AN EXAGGERATED AMERICAN".

RICHTER: Interestingly enough, we have some comments here by Dr. Paul Deats of the School of Theology at Boston University, which bear pretty directly on what you'v Just said. I think it's worth our while to listen briefly to Dr. Deats.

DEATS:

Some people have argued that the Negroes have a gentus for religion. I'm not quite sure at all that Negroes are more emotional by nature, are more religious by nature. But they've certainly in this country been much more restricted in their opportunities and this restriction means that in the channels that

ARE OPEN TO THEM THEY HAVE MADE FULL USE OF THESE CHANNELS. AND RELIGION HAS OFFERED THEM A TREMENDOU OPPORTUNITY FOR SELF-EXPRESSION, FOR RECREATION, FOR RELEASE OF THEIR INHIBITIONS IN OTHER AREAS. OFFERED THEM HELP IN ADJUSTING TO CRISES. THEY WERE ISOLATED FROM THE GENERAL LIFE OF AMERICA IN A LOT O WAYS, AND ONE WAY IN WHICH THEY COULD ASSERT THEIR EQUALITY AND DEAL WITH THEIR PROBLEMS WAS TO DO IT THEY PRGANIZED IN THE CHURCHES. ANOTHER THING, SEPARATE CHURCHES FOLLOWING THE CIVIL WAR, ALONG ABOUT THIS PERICD. ONE REASON THEY DID THIS WAS BECAUSE THEY FOUND EQUALITY IF THEY HAD A SEPARATE CHURCH--THEY WERE SUBORDINATE MEMBERS IF THEY WERE MEMBERS OF A LARGER METHODIST OR BAPTIST CHURCH. THEY HAD EQUAL STATUS IF THEY WERE MEMBERS OF THEIR OWN CHURCHES. THIS IS ONE WAY OF PROTESTING AGAINST WHITE DIMINATION AND WHITE LEADERSHIP. AND THE SECOND ONE, IT SEEMS TO ME, IS THAT THIS OFFERED THE THE OPPORTUNITY TO FIND LEADERSHIP EXPRESSION IN WAYS THAT WERE DENIED THEM IN THE GENERAL CULTURAL LIFE. YOU STILL FIND MORE NEGROES TURNING TO TEACH! AND THE MINISTRY, AS YOU HAVE FOR A GREAT NUMBER OF YEARS. THESE ARE THE TWO MAIN AVENUES OF PROFESSION AL LIFE THAT ARE OPEN TO NEGROES. AND ONE REASON YOU HAVE, IT SEEMS TO ME, WHAT YOU REFER TO AS THE WILD RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS, HAS BEEN THAT THIS IS THE ONE WAY THAT THE AGGRESSIVE LEADERSHIP OF THE NEGRO COULD EXPRESS ITSELF, AND THE RESENTMENT OF THE NEG. COULD EXPRESS ITSELF, IS IN THE ORGANIZATION OF NEW CHURCHES, OF NEW SECTS, OF NEW COMMUNITIES OF FOLLOWERS OF A PARTICULARLY OUTSTANDING OR, MAYBE YOU WANT TO SAY PARTICULARLY FRUSTRATED, INDIVIDUAL

RICHTER:

Now, I BELIEVE THAT IS HELPFUL IN UNDERSTANDING SOMETHING OF THE CHARACTER OF NEGRO RELIGION, BUT I LIKE US, IF WE CAN, TO GET A SOMEWHAT MORE INTIMATE VIEW OF AT LEAST SOME ASPECTS OF IT. WE MIGHT, FOR EXAMPLE, TOUCH ON THE MATTER OF WHAT THE NEGRO PREACHER HAS BEEN LIKE.

SCHNEIDER:

AS YOU MIGHT EXPECT, ON THE WHOLE NEGRO PREACHERS HAVE HAD VERY LITTLE EDUCATION. THEY HAVE TRADITIONALLY BEEN RECRUITED ON THE BASIS OF THEIR CAPACITY TO FEEL A "CALL" RATHER THAN ON ANYTHING RESEMING THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION. IND THE POINT IS, THAT THE "CALL" ALONE HAS TENDED TO BE EMPHASIZED. THEY HAVE FREQUENTLY, VERY FREQUENTLY, PREACHED A RELIGION THAT FITTED IN NEATLY WITH WHITE DESIRE THAT TO THE ROSCENDENT, RATHER THAN ON THE INCONVENIENT AND FRUSTRATING THINGS OF THIS WORLD. THESE AGAIN ARE NOT CHARACTERISTICS OF TENDENCIES PECULIAR TO THE NEGRO PREACHER, DUT IF, FOR EXAMPLE, WHITE SOUTHERN

PREACHERS MINISTERING TO LOWER CLASS PEOPLE HAVE SHOWN SCME F THE TRAITS I HAVE JUST DESCRIBED STILL CNCE MORE THE NEGRO PREACHER MAY DE SAID TO HAVE SHOWN THESE TRAITS IN EXAGGERATED FORM....PLEASE NOT THAT I AM GENERALIZING. THERE HAVE OF COURSE DEEN EXCEPTIONS TO THE THINGS I'VE SAID, AND CERTAINLY SOME OF THESE TRAITS, CHARACTERISTICS, TENDENCIES I'DEEN OVER ARE RECEIVING VERY STRINGENT CRITICISM FRONUMBERS OF NEGROES TODAY.

RICHTER:

TE GET THEN A GENERAL HISTORICAL PICTURE OF THE NEGREPACHER AS UNEDUCATED, AS FREQUENTLY POINTED AWAY FROM THE HARD PROBLEMS OF NEGROES ON THIS EARTH, AND AS ACCOMMODATING HIMSELF, CONSCIOUSLY OR UNCONSCIOUS TO THE BIAS OF WHITES THAT HE SHOULD LET THIS WORLD ALONE. YOU WOULD SAY, I TAKE IT, THAT THIS PICTURE, HOWEVER GENEVALLY TRUE HISTORICALLY, IS NOW CHANGING.

SCHNEIDER: Yes, I would say there are definitely signs of chang

RICHTER:

LET'S DEFER THOSE SIGNS FOR JUST NOW, AND GET A LITTLE BALANCE INTO THE PICTURE WE'VE THUS FAR GIVEN. AS I UNDERSTAND THE MATTER, THE SO-CALLED CLD-TIME NEGRO PREACHER HAD CERTAIN QUALITIES....AT LEAST SOME OLD-TIME NEGRO PREACHERS DID, THAT NUMBERS OF RELIGIOUS PEOPLE WOULD REGARD AS REDEEMING.

SCHNEIDER: | THINK THIS IS TRUE.

RICHTER: CAN WE DOCUMENT IT?

SCHNEIDER:

ONE WAY I CAN THINK OF TO DOCUMENT IT IS TO TURN TO A LITTLE VOLUME BY JAMES VELDON JOHNSON, ENTITLED GOD'S TROMBONES. THIS IS A VOLUME OF SEVEN NEGRO SERMONS IN VERSE WHICH JOHNSON WROTE. HE HAS AN INFORMATIVE PREFACE IN WHICH HE SAYS, AMONG OTHER THINGS, THE FOLLOWING: "THE OLD TIME NEGRO PREACHER OF PARTS WAS ABOVE ALL AN ORATOR, AND IN GOOD MEASUR AN ACTOR. HE KNEW THE SECRET OF GRATCRY, THAT AT BOTTOM IT IS A PROGRESSION OF RHYTHMIC WORDS MORE TH IT IS ANYTHING ELSE. INDEED, I HAVE WITNESSED CONGRE GATIONS MOVED TO ECSTASY BY THE RHYTHMIC INTONING OF SHEER INCOHERENCIES. HE WAS A MASTER OF ALL THE MODES OF ELOQUENCE. HE OFTEN POSSESSED A VOICE THAT WAS A MARVELLOUS INSTRUMENT, A VOICE HE COULD MODU-LATE FROM A SEPULCHRAL WHISPER TO A CRASHING THUNDER CLAP. HIS DISCOURSE WAS GENERALLY KEPT AT A HIGH PITCH OF FERVENCY, BUT OCCASIONALLY HE DROPPED INTO colloquialisms, AND, LESS OFTEN, INTO HUMOR. HE PREACHED A PERSONAL AND ANTHROPOMORPHIC GOD, A SURE ENOUGH HEAVEN AND A RED HOT HELL. HIS IMAGINATION W SOLD AND UNFETTERED. HE HAD THE POWER TO SWEEP HIS HEARERS BEFORE HIM, AND SO HIMSELF WAS OFTEN SWEPT AWAY. AT SUCH TIMES HIS LANGUAGE WAS NOT PROSE BUT POETRY. "

AND JOHNSON ADDS THAT IT WAS FROM MEMORIES OF SUCH PREACHERS THAT THERE GREW THE IDEA OF THE SERMONS IN VERSE, God's Trambones.

RICHTER:

VELL, HOW ABOUT GIVING US A BRIEF SAMPLING FROM THIS VOLUME. LOUP

SCHNEID TR:

I CAN'T HOPE TO DUPLICATE THE ORATORICAL POWER WHICH JOHNSON SAYS SOME OF THE CLD-TIME PREACHERS HAD, BUT HERE, IN THE BEST STYLE I CAN SUMMON ARE SOME LINES FROM THE SERMON ON THE "JUDGEMENT DAY."

IN THAT GREAT DAY,
PEOPLE, IN THAT GREAT DAY,
GCD'S A-GOING TO RAIN DOWN FIRE.
GCD'S A-GOING TO SIT IN THE MIDDLE OF THE AIR
TO JUDGE THE QUICK AND THE DEAD.

EARLY ONE OF THESE MORNINGS,
GCO'S A-GOING TO CALL FOR GABRIEL,
THAT TALL, BRIGHT ANGEL, GABRIEL;
AND GOD'S A-GOING TO SAY TO HIM: GABRIEL,
BLOW YOUR SILVER TRUMPET,
AND WAKE THE LIVING NATIONS.

ANG GABRIEL'S GOING TO ASK HIM: LORD,
HOW LOUD MUST I BLOW IT?
AND GOD'S A-GOING TO TELL HIM: GABRIEL,
BLOW IT CALM AND EASY.
THEN PUTTING ONE FOCT ON THE MOUNTAIN TOP,
AND THE OTHER IN THE MIDDLE OF THE SBA,
GABRIEL'S GOING TO STAND AND BLOW HIS HORN,
TO WAKE THE LIVING NATIONS.

OH-O-OH, SINNER,
JHERE WILL YOU STAND,
IN THAT GREAT DAY WHEN GOD'S A-GOING TO RAIN
DOWN FIRE?
YOU WHORE-MCNGERING MAN--WHERE WILL YOU STAND?
LIARS AND BACKSLIDERS--WHERE WILL YOU STAND,
IN THAT GREAT DAY WHEN GOD'S AGOING TO RAIN
DOWN FIRE?

SINNER, OH, SINNER,
WHERE WILL YOU STAND
IN THAT GREAT DAY WHEN GOD'S A-GOING TO RAIN
DOWN FIRE?

RICHTER:

A NUMBER OF OLD-TIME NEGRO PREACHERS, THEN HAD ELO-QUENCE AND POWER. AND THIS NEEDS TO BE SAID TO GIVE BALANCE TO THE IMAGE WE'VE GOTTEN SO F R, THE IMAGE OF THE NEGRO PREACHER AS A VERY POORLY EDUCATED AND A VERY OFTEN UTTERLY ACCOMMODATIVE PERSON, ACCOMMO-DATIVE TO THE WHITE STATUS-QUO, THAT IS. JE AGREED THAT THERE ARE SIGNS OF CHANGE IN THE OLD-TIME IMAGE LET'S TURN NOW TO SOME OF THESE SIGNS OF CHANGE. ONLAGAIN I SUGGEST WE LISTEN BRIEFLY TO DR. PAUL DEATS:

DE ITS:

PROBABLY ONE OF THE MOST INTERESTING THINGS THAT : HAPPENED IN THE NEGRO CHURCH HAS BEEN....THE WAY THAT IT'S MOVED OUT OF THE CENTER OF THE NEGRO COMMUNITY OVER A PERIOD OF YEARS. THIS HAPPENED. IT SEEMED TO ME, AS NEGRO YOUNG PEOPLE MORE AND MORE HAVE ACCESS TO EDUCATION, AS THEY FOUND THE REVIVALISM, THE EMO-TIONAL EXPRESSION OF THE NEGRO CHURCHES, THE LACK OF TRAINING OF THE NEGRO PREACHERS, UNAPPEALING TO THEM AND THEY ALSO INDENTIFIED RELIGION WITH THEIR LOWER CLASS STATUS. SO ONE WAY THEY C ULD REBEL AGAINST THEIR FEELINGS OF THEIR INFERIORITY AS NEGROES, ONE WAY THAT THEY COULD REBEL AGAINST THEIR IDENTIFICATION AS MEMBERS OF A LOWER SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASS, WAS TO REBEL AGAINST THE CHURCH, AND TO REJECT THE CHURCH. AND A LOT OF YOUNGER NEGROES, PARTICULARLY DURING THE LATE THIRTIES AND THE FORTIES, DID THIS. ONE OF THE THINGS THAT'S HAPPENED IN THE LATE FIFTIES HAS BEEN THE REEMERGENCE OF THE NEGRO CHURCH AND OF THE NEGRO MINISTER TO A POSITION OF SOCIAL LEADERSHIP AND SOCI RESPONSIBILITY IN THE NEGRO COMMUNITY. PROBABLY THE MOST VIVID SYMBOL OF THIS IS WARTIN LUTHER KING IN MONTGOMERY. BUT OVER THE SOUTH, THE NEGRO MINISTER WHO IS NOW NO LONGER THE FOOT-SHUFFLING, OBEDIENT SERVANT OF THE WHITE COMMUNITY AND THE WHITE CHURCH. KEEPING HIS PEOPLE QUIET, IN ORDER. BUT HE IS VERY OFTEN THE AGGRESSIVE LEADER OF A MINORITY MOVEMENT SEEKING RIGHTS FOR ITS OWN MEMBERS. THIS GIVES THE MINISTER AND THE CHURCH NEW RELEVANCE AND IT MAKES A REAL APPEAU PARTICULARLY TO THE YOUNGER AND THE BETTER EDUCATED NEGRO. JUST AFTER THE HEIGHT OF THE CRISIS IN MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA, WITH THE BUS BOYCOTT THAT WAS PARTICIPATED IN THERE, BY THE MONTGOMERY IMPROVEMENT SSOCIATION, I HAPPENED TO BE AT FISK UNIVERSITY WITH MARTIN LUTHER KING. HERE WAS A VERY SOPHISTICATED NEGRO CAMPUS WITH VERY SOPHISTICATED NEGRO SCCIOLOGISTS. IND THEY SAT WITH REAL ATTENTIO AND LISTENED WHILE A NEGRO MINISTER TALKED TO THEM ABOUT ACHIEVING CHANGE IN RACIAL ATTITUDES IN THE South. They had a New RESPECT--BOTH FOR THE CHURCH AND FOR THE MINISTRY BECAUSE OF A NEW ROLE THAT WIR. SHUTTLEWORTH, THAT MARTIN LUTHER KING AND HIS ASSOC-TATES, WERE PLAYING BOTH IN MONTGOMERY AND OTHER CITIES ACROSS THE COUNTRY ...

RICHTER:

Now I would like to re-enforce the fact of certain changes which Mr. Deats has been over by words spoke by the Reverend Jilliam Borders, of the Theat Street Baptist Church in Tlanta, Georgia, at the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom Meeting on the steps of the

LINCOLN MEMORIAL IN JASHINGTON, J.C., ON MAY 17, 195 HERE WE HAVE AN ILLUSTRATION OF THE COMBINATION OF RELIGIOUS FERVENCY WITH A MILITANT STAND ON THE MATT OF NEGRO RIGHTS.

30RDERS:

IS THERE ANY MAN FROM THE TOP OF HEAVEN TO THE BOTTO OF HELL WHO SHOULD GET JUSTICE FOR HIMSELF WITHOUT EXTENDING THAT SAME JUSTICE TO HIS BROTHER? GO DOWN Moses....go Down, Moses, WA-AY DOWN IN EGYPT LAND AND TELL OLD PHAROAH TO LET MY PEOPLE GO. I AM THE LORD THY GOD, AND TO PROVE THAT I'M GOING TO BE WITH YOU EVERY STEP OF THE WAY, I'M GIVING YOU A ROUND TRIP TICKET. GO DOWN, MOSES. THERE IS NO MILE POST THERE ARE NO ROAD WAYS; YOU WILL GET HUNGRY, YOU WIL GET THIRSTY, THERE WILL BE THE RED SEA BEFORE YOU, PHAROAH WILL BE AGAINST YOU, BUT GO DOWN, MOSES. GO WAY DOWN IN THE LAND OF EGYPT AND TELL OLD PHAROAH TO LET MY PEOPLE GO. IND | DECLARE UNTO YOU THIS DA MAY 17, 1957, CELEBRATING THIS SUPREME COURT DECISIO IN THE PRESENCE OF THE LINCOLN MONUMENT, I DECLARE UNTO YOU THIS DAY THAT MOSES WENT DOWN INTO THE LAND OF EGYPT, LED THE PEOPLE OUT, AND CAME BACK, WENT TO THE TOP OF A MOUNTAIN AND GOT A PROCLAMATION FROM GOD WHICH BEGAN BY SAYING, "I AM THE LORD THY GOD. " HAVE BROUGHT THEE OUT OF THE LAND OF EGYPT AND OUT C THE HOUSE OF BONDAGE. THOU SHALT HAVE NO OTHER GODS BEFORE ME. FOR THY LORD THY GOD AM A JEALOUS GOD VISITING INIQUITIES OF THE FATHERS ON THE THIRD AND THE FOURTH GENERATION OF THEM THAT HATE ME; AND SHOW LOVING KINDNESS UNTO THOUSANDS OF THEM THAT LOVE ME AND KEEP MY COMMANDMENTS. LET US MARCH....LET US MARCH...LET US MARCH. HIGHER! AND HIGHER! AND HIGHER! AND HIGHER!

RICHTER:

TO GET REVEREND BORDERS' OUTLOOK ON THE FUNCTION OF THE NEGRO CHURCH AND THE NEGRO MINISTER WE LATER VISITED HIM IN TLANTA IN THE SUMMER OF 1958, AND HE SAID TO US.

BORDERS:

WELL, IN THE FIRST PLACE IN THE NEGRO CHURCH THERE I A FREEDOM WHICH DOES NOT OBTAIN IN ANY OTHER ORGAN-IZATION IN THE SOUTH AMONG US. THERE IS A SUPREME RESPECT ON THE PART OF WHITES FOR THE NEGRO CHURCH AND IT IS A RECOGNIZED ORGANIZATION OF GOOD. IT IS GROUP OF PECPLE WHO HAVE ALREADY SELECTED THEIR LEAD MOREOVER, RELIGION AT ITS HIGHEST AND BEST CARRIES PROFOUND RESPECT IN THE HEART OF EVEN AN INFIDEL. A RELIGION OUGHT TO BE PRACTICAL. IT OUGHT TO BE INSPATIONAL AND TALK ABOUT OTHER-WORLDLINESS AND ABOUT IMMORTALITY. AT ONE AND THE SAME TIME IT OUGHT TO IMPLEMENT THE TENETS WHICH IT PROFESSES—BROTHERHOOD FATHERHOOD, GOODNESS AND PRACTICAL KINDNESS IN BEHAL OF EVERYBODY—SC THAT THAT HAVING BEEN SAID AS A

BACKGROUND, YOU CAN SEE THAT WHATEVER PROBLEM ARISES THE CHURCH HAS A RESPONSIBILITY. A DEFINITE RESPONSIBILITY. AND SINCE THE NEGRO, AS A PERSON IN THE SOUTH, HAS BEEN VIOLATED BECAUSE OF SEGREGATION IT DECOMES THE DUTY IN THE NATURE OF THE CASE FOR THE CHURCH AS AN ORGANIZATION TO MAKE ITSELF FELT WITH REFERENCE TO THAT PROBLEM. AND SINCE THE NEGRO PREACHER IS THE LEADER OF THE CHURCH, IT BECOMES HIS DUTY, TO THE SAME EXTENT, TO LEAD THE PEOPLE IN THE SOLUTION OF THAT PROBLEM.

SCHNELDER:

JHAT A CONTRAST THIS MAKES WITH SOME OF THE OLDER ATTITUDES. LET ME TRY TO MAKE THE CONTRAST VIVID BY QUOTING A FEW LINES FROM AN EXPERIENCE THAT MYRDAL REPORTS. HE SAYS, "STERNER AND I ONCE ATTENDED A SUNDAY EVENING SERVICE IN A NEGRO BAPTIST CHURCH IN ONE OF THE CAPITALS OF THE UPPER SOUTH. THE PREACHET DEVELOPED THE THEME THAT NOTHING IN THIS WORLD WAS OF ANY GREAT IMPORTANCE: REAL ESTATE, AUTOMOBILES, FINE CLOTHES, LEARNEDNESS, PRESTIGE, MONEY, ALL THIS IS NOTHING. IT IS NOT WORTH STRIVING FOR. BUT AN HUMBI PEACEFUL HEART WILL BE REMUNERATED IN HEAVEN. FITER THE SERVICE WE WENT UP TO THE PREACHER FOR A TALK. VE ASKED HIM IF HE SHOULD NOT INSTEAD TRY TO INSTILL MORE WORLDLY AMBITION IN HIS POOR AND DISADVANTAGED GROUP. THE PREACHER BEGAN TO EXPLAIN TO US, AS FOR FOREIGNERS, THAT THIS WOULD NOT DO AT ALL IN THE South. The Role of the Negro Church, HE TOLD US, WAS TO MAKE THE POOR NEGROES SATISFIED WITH THEIR LOWLY STATUS. HE FINISHED BY EXCLAIMING, WE ARE THE POLICEMEN OF THE NEGROES. IF WE DID NOT KEEP DOWN THEIR AMBITIONS AND DIVERT THEM INTO RELIGION, THERE WOULD BE UPHEAVAL IN THE SOUTH. THIS PREACHER IS NOT TYPICAL IN HIS PHILOSOPHY OF EXTREME ACCOMMODATION OR IN HIS INTELLECTUAL CLARITY, BUT IT IS SIGNIFICAN. THAT HE EXISTS."

RICHTER:

I THINK WE'VE PRETTY WELL MADE THE POINT OF THE CHANGING FUNCTION OF THE NEGRO CHURCH AND CHURCH LEADERSHIP. BUT LET'SRETURN NOW TO THE BACKGROUND OF RELIGIOUS SEGREGATION.

SCHNEIDER:

THE HAVE TO KEEP IN MIND THAT THE BASIC THING IN THAT BACKGROUND IS THE SIMPLE FACT THAT VERY, VERY OFTEN THE NEGRO WAS NOT WANTED IN THE WHITE CHURCH, AND KNE THAT. THE FOUNDING OF THE FRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPY CHURCH AROUND THE END OF THE 18TH CENTURY WAS ACCOMPLISHED BY A NEGRO WHO HAD EXPERIENCED DISCRIMINATION IN THE WHITE CHURCH HE HAD BEEN ATTENDING. SO IT HAS GONE GENERALLY, MORE OR LESS IN THIS FASHION. TODAY THERE IS SOME FERMENT GOING ON IN THE WHITE CHURCHES. THERE SEEMS TO BE AN INCREASING WONDER ABOUT THE COMPATABILITY OF SEGREGATION POLICY AND ADHERENCE TO CHRISTIANITY. THE CATHOLIC CHURCH HAS BEEN TAKING A

FORTHRIGHT STAND ON THE MATTER, FROWNING ON SEGREGATI IN CHURCHES. THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES. (NOW KNOW AS THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN MERICA) PLEDGED ITS CONSTITUENT DENOMINATIONS IN 1946 TO WORK FOR A NON-SEGREGATED CHURCH IN A NON-SEGREGATED SOCIETY....WHICH IS SURELY SOME KIND OF INDICATION OF THE PROTESTANT BIAS AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL. LEADING PROTESTANT THECLOGIANS, LIKE RHEINHOL NIEBUHR, ALLOW NO DOUBT OF THEIR STAND WHICH IS UNAMBIGUOUSLY ANTI-SEGREGATIONIST. ANTI-SEGREGATION LITERATURE IS BEING WRITTEN BY CLERGYMEN WHO ARE WELL INFORMED ON VARIOUS FACETS OF THE RACIAL PROBLEM. . GOOD EXAMPLE OF THIS IS A RECENT VOLUME BY KYLE HAZEL DEN ON THE RACIAL PROBLEM IN CHRISTIAN PERSPECTIVE. YET, THIS IS ALL ACCOMPANIED BY GREAT DIFFICULTIES. IT LOCAL LEVELS, MEN DO STAND IN DANGER OF LOSING THEIR PULPITS IF THEY COME OUT FORTHRIGHTLY AGAINST SEGREGATION IN THE CHURCHES, AND SOME HAVE ALREADY LOST THEIR PULPITS. THE IDEA OF DESEGREGATION IN THE CHURCHES IS NOW, FOR MANY IN THE SOUTH, AND FOR THAT MATTER IN THE NORTH AS WELL, A RELATIVELY NOVEL ONE. ALSO, WE'VE GIVEN SOME STRESS IN THIS PROGRAM TO HOW MUCH HIS CHURCH HAS MEANT TO THE NEGRO. I DON'T THIN' THERE'S ANY DOUBT THAT THE NEGRO WANTS TO FEEL FREE T GO WHERE IT PLEASES HIM TO GO, WANTS TO FEEL FREE TO ATTEND WHITE CHURCHES IF HE IS SO INCLINED, AND WOULD WELCOME THE OPPORTUNITY TO DO SO AT LEAST WHEN THE MOOD TO DO SO COMES UPON HIM. NEVERTHELESS, I CAN CONCEIVE THAT THE NEGRO MAY WELL CONTINUE FOR SOME TIME TO SHOW STRONG ADHERENCE TO HIS OWN CHURCHES. HOPE THIS WON'T BE MISUNDERSTOOD, AND I TRUST I'M BEING PERFECTLY CLEAR ON THE POINT THAT NEGROES DO NO WANT PREJUDICE OR DISCRIMINATION TO BE SHOWN THEM IN THIS AREA ANY MORE THAN IN ANY OTHER.

RICHTER:

GAIN, IT'S NOT SO MUCH THE DESIRE OF THE NEGRO TO BECOME A PART, AN INTIMATE PART OF THE WHITE COMMUNITY AS IT IS HIS DESIRE TO MEET NO PREJUDICE OR DISCRIMIN ATION FROM MEMBERS OF THAT COMMUNITY. AT THE POINT, I'D LIKE TO REVERT TO THE COMMENT BY H. RICHARD NIESU WHICH I MENTIONED AT THE BEGINNING OF TODAY'S PROGRAM TO THE EFFECT THAT THE CHURCHES HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO WEAVE A SINGLE GARMENT OF CHRIST TO FIT THE SEAMLESS VESTURE OF HIS SPIRIT. THIS IS SCMETIMES BROUGHT HOM TO US WITH SPECIAL POIGNANCY. I'D LIKE US TO LISTEN FOR A MOMENT TO THE REVEREND DAN THITSETT, AN ALABAMA PASTER WITH WHOM | SPOKE ABOUT THE SEGREGATION PROBLE IN THE CHURCH IN THE SUMMER OF 1958. REVEREND WHIT-SETT'S STATEMENT SERVES TO REMIND US OF SOMETHING THAT I THINK WE NEED TO BE CONSTANTLY REMINDED OF NAMEL THAT MERICAN ACTION IN RELATION TO THE NEGRO IN ANY SPHERE, IS LIKELY TO BE ATTENDED TO BY PEOPLE IN THE MOST REMOTE PARTS OF THE WORLD.

HITSETT:

IN ANNUAL CONFERENCE MET IN MONTGOMERY ABOUT THREE YEARS AGO AND PASSED A RESOLUTION UPHOLDING SEGREGA-TION. THE VERY NEXT DAY, THAT STORY WAS PRINTED ON THE FRONT PAGE OF ONE OF THE LARGEST NEWSPAPERS IN Southern Rhodesia. | HEARD FROM THAT MISSIANARY--SH WAS FROM LABAMA--AND SHE STATED THIS IN HER LETTER THAT THE PROPLE WITH WHOM SHE WORKED CAME TO HER WIT. THIS NEWS ACCOUNT AND SAID "THY IS IT THAT YOU TELL ABOUT CHRIST, AND THAT WE ARE ONE IN HIM, BUT YOUR O CHURCH IN ALABAMA HAS PASSED A RESOLUTION THAT "UR PEOPLE COULD NOT EVEN WORSHIP WITH YOU?" AND THE MISSIGNARY SAID, "I FRANKLY HAVE NO ANSWER." I HAD NO ANSWER. AND THEN LAST FEBRUARY | HAD A RETURNED MISSIONARY FROM....TO SPEAK IN MY PULPIT HERE. HE I NOW RETIRED AND COME BACK TO THE STATES TO LIVE. HE RELATED AN INCIDENT IN A NEARBY STATE WHERE THERE WA A LARGE SETTLEMENT OF CHINESE. BUT THE NEAREST CHURCH WOULD NOT ALLOW ONE OF THE CHINESE TO COME IN AND WORSHIP WITH THEM. AND THEN HE SAID, "IN MOST OF YOUR CHURCHES YOU WOULD NOT PERMIT ONE NEGRO TO COME IN AND WORSHIP WITH YOU." BUT WHAT IMPRESSED ME WAS WHEN HE BOWED HIS HEAD AND SAID, "MY GOD, HAVE I GIVEN MY LIFE IN VAIN? 1 SPENT 17 YEARS IN CHINA AND THE FAR EAST AND THREE YEARS IN VERICA TELLING THOSE PEOPLE THAT GOD WAS THE FATHER OF US ALL, AND THAT W ARE BROTHERSAND SISTERS IN JESUS CHRIST AND THEN I COME TO MY OWN HOME AND FIND THAT WE DO NOT PRACTICE WHAT WE PREACH. " NOW THAT'S BOUND -- HE RELATED THAT STORY--THAT'S BOUND TO BE EFFECTIVE IN OUR OWN MINDS AND HEARTS WHEN WE SEE THE INCONSISTENCY.

SCHNEIDER:

There are reverberations in the world. And the Unit States itself is undoubtedly in the process of chang in respect to the Negro problem. Perhaps we can do better, as regards this present program, than to end it with the repetition of a phrase that Myrdal used 1944, which most certainly has as much force today a when he employed it. It is very short and to the point: "The Negro protest is still rising." Then one hears a portion of a speech such as the heard a few minutes ago from the Reverend, the impression the this statement is true is simply reinforced.

RICHTER:

Today, then, it seems clear that the Negro, increasingly, no more wants discrimination against him in the church no more than anywhere else. His protest definitely extends to this field, and the protest is receiving support, at the very least, at the level of the principles and resolutions of nationally important white church bodies. Once more, it appears that major national agencies, in this case not the govern ment but the churches, are in principle dedicated to the Negro's cause. We invite you to Join us next week as we continue to discuss the Negro in america, "The Last Citizen."

MUSIC: THEME UP NO UNDER

NMCR: You have been listening to Dr. Louis Schneider,
PROFESSOR OF SCCIOLOGY AT PURDUE UNIVERSITY, AND THE

PROGRAM'S PRODUCER-DIRECTOR, E. V. RICHTER, AS THEY DISCUSS "THE LAST CITIZEN." THIS PROGRAM WAS PRODUCED AND RECORDED BY WBA., PURDUE UNIVERSITY, UNDER A GRANTER EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION AND RADIO CENTER AND IS BEING DISTRIBUTED BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF

EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTERS.

MUSIC: THE ME UP TO FINISH

NNCR: THIS IS THE NIEB RADIO NETWORK.

THE LAST CITIZEN

ROGRAM #14
"THE NEGRO SOCIETY AND CULTURE"

JOURNALISM AND ORT

PRITTIS: SEGREGATION DEPRIVES NEGROES OF A DEVELOPING LIFE EXPERIENCE. THE JOURNALIST, AND NEGROES IN MOST PROFESSIONS REQUIRING THE SKILL AND KNOWLEDGE THAT COME FROM EXPERIENCE AND ASSOCIATION, SUFFERS FROM THIS SEGREGATION. THE NEGRO JOURNALIST STARTS OFF WITH THE ODDS WEIGHTED AGAINST HIM.

FORD:

Now he hated dialect. He did not want to write dialect. But the public expected that, and they felt that that was the kind of Negro genuine style, and if he did anything else it was entirely imitative.

MUSIC: STINGER

NNCR:

Our guests today are the publisher of a Negro news-paper and a professor of English, author, and editor of a number of books of interest to students of Negro it telature, as we take up the matter of Negro jurnal ism and Negro art in our continuing discussion of the Culture of the Negro in omerica. "The Last Citizen."

MUSIC: STINGER

THE LAST CITIZEN: THE NEGRO IN MERICA. A SERIES OF PROGRAMS DEVOTED TO THE EXTENSION OF OUR KNOWLEDGE OF THE LARGEST MINORITY GROUP IN THE UNITED STATES, ITS PROBLEMS, AND THE PROBLEMS IT POSES TO ALL AMERICANS. THE LAST CITIZEN IS PRODUCED BY RADIO STATION JBW., PURDUE UNIVERSITY, UNDER A GRANT FROM THE EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION AND RADIO CENTES, IN COOPERATION WITH THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTESS. THE DISCUSSANTS ARE THE PRODUCER OF THE SERIES, E. W. RICHTER, AND DR. LOUIS SCHNEIDER, PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY AT PURDUE UNIVERSITY. TODAY'S PROGRAM: NEGRO JOURNALISMAND NEGRO ART. HERE, NOW, IS MR. RICHTER.

RICHTER:

Teday, in examining Negre culture we want to look inthe specific fields of journalism and the arts. We'l spend most of our time on journalism, because 11, together with its sub-arts, such as the art of cartoing, is so clearly something designed for wide-spread popular consumption. Now, in any of the things we'll be speaking about today, discussion could go on indefinitely. Our only hope of getting some sort of necessary limitation is to confine curselves to particular themes. What theme might we address ourselves to, would you say, Lou, in discussing journalism?

SCHNEIDER: I THINK IT WOULD BE MOST ADVISABLE TO ADDRESS OURSEL'

TO THE MATTER OF SEGREGATION. THIS, IT SEEMS TO ME, IS ABSOLUTELY FUNDAMENTAL IN UNDERSTANDING BOTH THE GENERAL FORM OF NEGRO JOURNALISM AND THE CONTENT OF THAT JOURNALISM.

:RICHTER:

F THAT IS THE THEME.WHICH WE MAY MOST PROFITABLY PURSUE, I CAN WHINK OF NOTHING BETTE: FOR US TO: TO BEGIN WITH THAN SOME EXTRACTS FROM A SPEECH MADE BY P. L. PRATTIS, EDITOR OF THE PITTSBURGH COURIER, ONE OF THE LEADING NEGRO NEWSPAPENS OF THE NATION. MR. PRATTIS MADE THIS SPEECH, FROM WHICH WE WILL HEAR SOM PASSAGES IN A MOMENT, AT FISK UNIVERSITY IN THE SUMME OF 1958, AT THE ANNUAL RACE RELATIONS INSTITUTE. LETMES ANY THAT MR. PRATTIS'S SPEECH HITS SO DIRECTLY AN COGENTLY ON THE THEME OF SEGREGATION THAT WE THINK I WORTHWHILE TO ALLOW HIM MATHER MORE TIME THAN WE HAVE USUALLY ALLOWED CUTSIDE COMMENTARIES. HERE THEN, IS MR. PRATTIS, ADDRESSING HIMSELF FORTHRIGHTLY TO THE WAYS IN WHICH SEGREGATION AFFECTS NEGRO JOURNALISM.

PRATTIS:

WHAT ABOUT THE PROSPECTIVE COLORED STUDENT OF JOURNAL ISM? BEFORE ANYTHING ELSE HE MUST CONSIDER ECONOMICS CAN HIS PARENTS AFFORD TO SEND HIM TO A SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM? THEN WHEN HE LOOKS OVER THE LAST OF THE SCHOOLS, HE FINDS IT MUCH MORE RESTRICTED FOR HIM TH FOR THE WHITE BOY. SHALL HE ATTEND A NEGRO SCHOOL O JOURNALISM? WELL, MAYBE. PERHAPS IT WILL COST LESS BUT CAN HE OBTAIN AS MUCH IN RELATION TO THE WHOLE FIELD OF JOURNALISM? THERE'S ROOM FOR DOUBT. SEGRE-GATION DEPRIVES NEGROES OF A DEVELOPING LIFE EXPERI-ENCE. THE JOURNALIST AND NEGROES IN MOST PROFESSION: REQUITING THE SKILL AND KNOWLEDGE THAT COME FROM EX-PERIENCE AND ASSOCIATION, SUFFERS FROM THIS SEGREGA-TION. THE NEGRO JOURNALIST STARTS OFF WITH THE ODDS WEIGHTED AGAINST HIM. HE CAN GO SO FAR AND NO FARTH! THEN SEGREGATI N CUTS HIM OFF FROM NORMAL ASSIMILATI OF THE DOMINANT CULTURE. IN HIS OWN FIELD HE REACHES A STATE OF EXPERIENTIAL PARALYSIS. YOU MAY EASONABL ASK, "MHY DOESN'T THE NEGRO GO AHEAD AND SET HIS OWN STANDARDS AND PAR? IF, AS YOU SAY, HE HAS ABILITY EQUAL TO THAT OF THE WHITE MAN, WHY, WITHIN THE LIMI OF SEGREGATION, DOES HE NOT PERFECT HIS OWN NOTIONS? THE ANSWER IS THAT THE DOMINANT CULTURE WILL NOT PERF HIM. THE DOMINANT CULTURE IS BOUND, FOR BETTER OR WORSE, TO BE THE CHIEF AND DECISIVE INFLUENCE IN THE NEGRO'S LIFE. IT TELLS HIM IN DEVIOUS, BUT VERY CER TAIN, WAYS THIT ALMOST EVERYTHING HE DOES IS WRONG. MAKES HIM HESITANT, UNCERTAIN. IT TURNS HIM UPON HIMSELF WHEN HE WOULD CARVE OUT A WAY FOR HIMSELF. LIKE A SMALL PLANT TRYING TO GROW BESIDE A LARGER ON HE IS CROWNDED OUT FROM THE LIFE-GIVING SUNLIGHT. MAGINE, THE STURDY LARGER PLANT BENDING OVE AND BLAMING THE SMALLER PLANT FOR BEING PALE AND WANE.

THAT IS WHAT HAPPENS TO THE NEGRO, EXCEPT IN EXASPER ATINGLY FEW INSTANCES, IN THE IMPRISONMENT OF PHY-SICAL, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL SEGREGATION. VHY DON'T NEGROES HAVE DAILY NEWSPAPERS? SOME OF TH. ANSWER TO THAT QUESTION IS FOUND IN THE PROBLEM OF ORGANIZING OF CAPITAL FOR ANY ENTERPRISE. IN THE FIRST PLACE, THE NEGRO IS MORE OR LESS IMPOVERISHED. IS A MORE OR LESS IMPOVERISHED SEGMENT OF THE AMERICA COMMUNITY. WHITES WHO REPRESENT THE GOING CULTURE. THE CULTURE THAT FLOWS FREELY AMONG THEMSELVES AND OTHER SIMILAR PEOPLES, HAVE THE MONEY THAT COUNTS. BY ANY STANDARD OF MEASUREMENT, THE NEGRO IS POOR. VERY POOR. IF HE DETERMINES TO GO INTO ANY KIND OF BUSINESS UNDERTAKING, HE MUST DEPEND UPON HIS CWN MEANS AND THOSE OF HIS FELLOWS. IN AS MUCH AS HE DOESN'T HAVE MUCH AND HIS FELLOWS DON'T HAVE MUCH AND HIS FELLOWS DON'T HAVE MUCH, HE CAN NEVER ASSEMB' MUCH CAPITAL. :ITH A SMALL CAPITAL INVESTMENT COM:N FROM WITHIN HIS SEGREGATED COMMUNITY, ANY BUSINESS UNDERTAKING HE STARTS MUST BE SMALL. IT REQUIRES MUCH MORE CAPITAL THAN NEGROES CAN REASONABLY BE EXPECTED TO PROVIDE TO START A DAILY NEWSPAPER. BUT EVEN IF THEY GOT TOGETHER SUFFICIENT CAPITAL FOR SUCI A VENTURE, THE RISK WOULD BE GREAT. ANY SUCH PROMOT WOULD BE IN COMPETITION WITH THE GREAT DAILIES. HE WOULD HAVE PROJECTED HIMSELF INTO THE LARGER FIELD. THEN HE WOULD FIND SEVERAL THINGS HAPPENING, ALL THE RESULT OF SEGREGATION. THE NEGROES WOULD BE SLOW TO PURCHASE HIS PAPER BECAUSE, SEGNEGATED AS THEY ARE, THEY HAVE BECOME ACCUSTOMED TO EXPECT THE PRODUCT OF THE DOMINANT CULTURE TO BE BETTER. THE WHITES WOULD NOT BUY HIS DAILY DECAUSE IT IS NATURAL FOR THEM NOT TO EXPECT A PRODUCT PRODUCED BY A NEGRO TO BE AS GOOD AS A SIMILAR PRODUCT PRODUCED BY WHITES. THUS THE NEGRO DAILY NEWSPAPER PUBLISHER, IF HE CHANCE TO FIND SUFFICIENT CAPITAL TO START A DAILY, WOULD SOON FIND HIS CIRCULATION, AND CIRCULATION INCOME, JEOPAR-DIZED BY BLIGHTFUL MIND-SETS WHICH ARE CHARACTERIST OF THE PATTERN OF SEGREGATION. THIS NEGRO PUBLISHER OF A DAILY NEWSPAPER WOULD BE EVEN WORSE OFF WHEN HE TACKLED THE PROBLEM OF REVENUE FROM ADVERTISING. MOST NEGRO BUSINESSES ARE SO SMALL AND OF SUCH A NATURE THAT THEY CANNOT AFFORD TO ADVERTISE IN A DAILY. THEREFORE, OUR NEGRO PUBLISHER WOULD HAVE TO TURN TO WHITES. BUT THEY ADVERTISE IN THEIR OWN PAPERS, THEY HAVE (NLY SO MUCH MONEY TO INVEST IN ADVERTISING. THE NEGRO PUBLISHER WOULD BECOME A COMPETITOR OF WHITE PUBLISHERS FOR THAT UNEXPANDABLE MAXIMUM. WHEN THE WHITE PUBLISHERS GOT THROUGH WITH IT, ENJOYING THE BENEFITS OF SOCIAL AND OTHER EQUALIT THAT THEY DO, THERE WOULD BE PRECIOUS LITTLE LEFT FOR THE NEGRO PUBLISHER. THE NEGRO PUBLISHER WOULD FAIL THE WHITES WOULD SAY THAT THE NEGRO PUBLISHER DID NOT HAVE THE KNOW-HOW, IN WHICH THEY WOULD BE PARTLY RIGI AND THE NEGROES WHO HAD LOST THEIR MONEY, DUBIOUS

FROM THE DEGINNING, WOULD INCLINE TO AGREE WITH WHITE FEW NEGROES OR WHITES WOULD THINK THROUGH THE BASIC FACT THAT SEGREGATION DEPRIVED THIS AMBITIOUS NEGRO OF THE CHANCE TO GROW THROUGH EXPERIENCE AND THE OPPORTUNITY TO OBTAIN SUFFICIENT GOING CAPITAL.

FOREGOING, WHICH WOULD BE TRAGICALLY TRUE WITH A DAIL NEWSPAPER, IS SADLY TRUE OF WEEKLIES ALSO. MOST NEGROWERLIES, EVEN THE LARGEST, HAVE BEEN STARTED WITH VERY SMALL CAPITAL INVESTMENT. IN FACT, ITIS GREATLY TO THE DOUBTED OF SUFFICIENT CAPITAL COULD BE OBTAINE AMONG NEGROLS TODAY TO START AND MAINTAIN A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER OF THE SIZE OF EITHER OF OUR THREE BIG WEELLIES. LACK OF CAPITAL IS AMAJOR DETERRENT TO THE EXPANSION OF SO-CALLED NEGRO JOURNALISM. THIS IS TRUE NOT ONLY IN RESPECT TO CAPITAL INVESTMENT, BUT ALSO IN TERMS OF INCOME REVENUE.

RICHTER:

AT THIS POINT IN HIS SPEECH, MR. PRATTIS TURNS TO THE QUESTION OF INCOME. IT IS PERHAPS WELL TO REMIND OURSELVES IN UNDERSTANDING HIS FURTHER COMMENTS THAT THE DULK OF INCOME OF NEWSPAPERS SUCH AS MOST OF US ARE ACQUAINTED WITH—"WHITE" NEWSPAPERS SO-CALLED—"IS INCOME DERIVED FROM ADVERTISING. BUT THIS IS NOT THE CASE WITH NEGRO NEWSPAPERS. MR. PRATTIS UNDER SAYS THIS, BUT I MENTION IT, TOO BECAUSE IT IS VERY IMPORTANT TO BEAR IN MIND. NOW MR. PRATTIS CONTINUE

PRATTIS:

WHY IS IT NECESSARY TO PAY THE SAME PRICE FOR A 24 PAGE NEGRO NEWSPAPER AS YOU DO FOR A 96 PAGE NEW YOR TIMES? WHY DOES THE NEGRO NEWSPAPE COST MORE THAN THE WHITE NEWSPAPER? THE ANSWERS TO THESE QUESTIONS LIE IN THE FACT THAT NEGROES AND WHITES LIVE IN SEPARATE WORLDS. WHITE NEWSPAPERS OBTAIN MOST OF THEIR INCOME FROM ADVERTISING THAT COMES FROM WHITE BUSINESS. IN THE PAST, WHITE PUBLISHERS HAVE DEFINE LY CHOSEN TO MAKE ADVERTISING CARRY MOST OF THE BURD AND TO KEEP THE PRICE OF THE PAPER CHEAP, EVEN BELOW COST. THITE NEWSPAPERS ARE ONE OF THE FEW COMMODITE IN JESTERN CIVILIZATION WHICH ARE SOLD FOR LESS THAN IT COSTS TO PRODUCE THEM. DVERTISING IS MADE TO BEAR THE BURDEN OF COST WHICH NORMALLY THE PURCHASER WOULD PAY. BUT THE DOORS TO THE ADVERTISING WHICH THE WHITE NEWSPAPERS RECEIVE ARE LARGELY CLOSED TO NEGRO PUBLISHERS. THE WHITE ADVERTISERS, LIVING IN ANOTHER WORLD, SEE NO NEED OF ADVERTISING IN MEDIA PUBLISHED FOR THE BENEFIT OF A SET-OFF, SEGREGATED, POOR. AND INFERIOR SEGMENT OF THE POPULATION. THERE FORE, THE CHIEF SOURCE OF REVENUE FOR THE WHITE NEWSPAPER IS ALMOST NON-EXISTANT FOR THE NEGRO NEWS-PAPER. AS A CONSEQUENCE, THE NEGRO NEWSPAPER MUST OBTAIN ITS INCOME FROM CIRCULATION AND FROM SUCH ADVERTISING AS IT CAN GET. THE NEGRO PUBLISHER IS FORCED TO START BY CHARGING A PRICE FOR HIS PRODUCT

WHICH IS MORE NEARLY IN LINE WITH ITS ACTUAL COST.
THE WHITE PUBLISHER, DECAUSE OF HIS LARGER INCOME FR
ADVERTISING, CAN CHARGE MUCH LESS. THE NEGRO PUB-LISHER, BECAUSE OF THE PAUCHTY OF ADVERTISING INCOME IS COMPELLED TO CHARGE THE PURCHASER NOT AN EXCESSIVE PRICE. BUT ONE MORE NEARLY IN LINE WITH WHAT IT COST

RICHTER:

Now MR. PRATTIS GOES ON TO POINT OUT THAT, INSCEAR AS THE NEGRO NEWSPAPER CAN GET ADVERTISING AT ALL, IT MUST RELY HEAVILY ON NEGRO DUSINESS...OR BUSINESS CONDUCTED BY WHITES THAT ESPECIALLY CATER TO NEGROES AND HERE, THE NEGRO NEWSPAPER FREQUENTLY MUST CARRY ADVERTISING MATTER WHICH ITS OWN PERSONNEL MAY NOT APPROVE. BUT MR. PRATTIS PUTS THE MATTER VERY WELL IN A FEW FINAL WORDS.

PR TTIS:

HIS FIRST RESORT MUST BE NEGRO BUSINESSES OR BUSINES CONDUCTED BY WHITES WHICH CATER PARTICULARLY TO NEGR NEGROES. HERE HE COLLIDES WITH THE SEGREGATED CULTU-PATTERN WITH A MENGEANCE. MANY SO-CALLED NEGRO DUSINESSES WHICH PROSPER IN A THIRD-RATE SCRT OF WAY ARE TOOTED IN THE PREJUDICES RESPONSIBLE FOR SEGRE-GATION. THE NEGRO HAS BEEN MADE TO SUFFER SO MUCH BECAUSE OF A DIFFERENCE OF SKIN COLOR AND HAIR TEXTU BY MEMBERS OF THE DOMINANT CLASS, THAT MANY NEGROES HAVE ADOPTED THE UNDERSTANDABLE COURSE OF TRYING TO ESCAPE RIDICULE AND PROSCRIPTION BY IDENTIFYING THEM-SELVES WITH THE MASS OF THEIR WHITE TORMENTORS. THE UNHOLY PRESSURE FROM THE CUTSIDE WHITE WORLD HAS MAD: MANY NEGROES WANT TO CHANGE THEIR SKIN COLOR AND THE TEXTURE OF THEIR HAIR. WHAT GILBERT FREREIMPLIES IS MOST CLEARLY SEEN IN THIS TENDENCY. YOU WOULD EXPEC ANY PEOPLE TO BE PROUD OF THE PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTIC GOD HAS GIVEN THEM, BUT JUST AS A SET-OFF GROUP LOSE ROOTAGE AND A SENSE OF CULTURAL DIRECTION, SO DOES I LOSE A SENSE OF VALUES IN RESPECT TO ITS CHARACTER-ISTICS. DANGLING IN A SORT OF CULTURAL VACUITY, IT FUTILELY ASPIRES TO TIE IN WITH THE STRONGER DOMINAN GROUP WHICH SPURNS IT.

SCHNEIDER:

WHEN WE BEGAN TODAY, I MADE THE COMMENT THAT SEGREGATION IS FUNDAMENTAL IN UNDERSTANDING BOTH THE GENERAL FORM OF NEGRO JOURNALISM AND ITS CONTENT. M. PRATTIS HAS SAID A GOOD DEAL THAT I THINK BEAAS LANG! LY ON THE FORM OR STRUCTURE OF NEGRO JOURNALISM. NO LET US TURN TO CONTENT. HERE ONE MUST HAVE THE EXPECTATION THAT SEGREGATION WILL DE DIRECTLY AND POWE. FULLY INFLUENTIAL....SEGREGATION ALONG WITH DISCRIMINATION AND PREJUDICE. INEVITABLY THESE THINGS WILL BE THEMES FOR THE NEGRO NEWSMAN, EDITOR, COLUMNIST, AND CARTOONIST.

RICHTER:

IN MY EXPERIENCE, THE FRONT PAGE OF A MAJOR NEGRO
NEWSPAPER USUALLY GIVES ONE THE IMPRESSION OF A KIND

OF SENSATIONALISTIC JOURNALISM WHICH COMBINES AN EFFORT AT VIVID APPEAL WITH STORIES SPECIFICALLY SLANTED TO NEGRO INTERESTS, OFTEN WITH ESPECIAL EMPHEMPHASIS ON INJUSTICES VISITED UPON NEGROES.

SCHNEIDER: MY OWN IMPRESSION WOULD BE MUCH THE SAME.

RICHTER: But now, can we learn something about specific content inclustrating preoccupation with segregation, discri-

SCHNEIDE : YES. LET ME BEGIN WITH A FEW CARTGONS FROM ONE OF THE LEADING NEGRO NEWSPAPERS, THE CHICAGO DEFENDER. ON DECEMBER 20, 1958, A SOUTHERN WHITE SITS IN A CHAIR WATCHING EISENHOWER ON TV, AND SAYS TO HIS DOG " 'E DON'T CARE WHAT THAT CONSTITUTION SAYS....THERE AIN'T GONNA BE NONE OF THEM NIGRAS VOTIN' TROUND HERE HERE'S A SLIGHTLY MORE SUBTLE ITEM, ABOUT THREE WEEK LATER; UNCLE SAM IS SHOWN HARD AT WORK, AND DRESSED AN APRON. HE IS SEEKING TO MAKE A GROWTH FORMULA WHILE A BABY, SYMBOLIZING THE 1954 SCHOOL DECISION, SITS IN A HIGHCHAIR. ON APRIL 4, 1959, A NEGRO MAN IS REPRESENTED AS OPENING AN EMPTY BOX LABELLED "CIVIL RIGHTS," WHILE A CHORTLING WHITE MAN, LABELLED "CONGRESS" CRIES "APRIL FOOL! " FROM AN OPEN WINDOW. INCIDENTALLY, I HAVEN'T MADE A SYSTEMATIC ANALYSIS OF THE CARTCON CONTENT OF THE DEFENDER OR OF OTHER LEAD-ING NEGRO NEWSPAPERS. BUT IT MIGHT BE OF INTEREST TO GIVE TWO OR THREE IMPRESSIONS I'VE DERIVED, WHICH I THINK ARE RELEVANT TO THE WHOLE MATTER OF SEGREGATION FOR ONE THING, UNCLE SAM SEEMS NEVER TO BE DEPICTED. VIRTUALLY NEVER TO BE DEPICTED, AS BEING DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE FOR RACIAL TROUBLE. ON THE CONTRARY, HE IS REPRESENTED AS TRYING HARD TO IMPROVE MATTERS AND AS SUFFERING DIFFICULTIES IN THE PROCESS. THE BEST HOPE FOR A BRIGHTER FUTURE FOR NEGROES TENDS TO BE SHOWN AS SYING WITHIN THE PROVINCE OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT. LISENHOWER IS REPRESENTED AS DOING HIS TO HELP IN THE FIELD OF RACIAL RELATIONS WITH SUCH TOOLS AS EXIST, HOWEVER IMPERFECT THEY MAY BE. THIS IS OF SPECIAL INTEREST SINCE MUCH REPORTAGE BY THE WHITE PRESS, AND BY HIGHLY CAPABLE CONTEMPORARY WHITE JOURNALISTS, DEPICTS EISENHOWER AS REMAINING ALOOF FROM, AND RATHER UNINTERESTED IN, RACIAL ISSUES. LE-ME ADD THAT THERE MIGHT BE A VARIETY OF EXPLANATIONS FOR THIS. A PLAUSIBLE ONE IS THAT THERE IS SO MUCH NEGRO HOPE INVESTED IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND ITS AGENCIES, THAT ANY MAJOR GOVERNMENTAL FIGURE SUCH AS THE PRESIDENT IS LIKELY, IF IT IS AT ALL POSSIBLE, TO BE PRESNETED IN, WHAT IS FROM THE NEGRO STANDPOINT. A FAVORABLE LIGHT.

RICHTER: This does seem like rather interesting material, Lou.

Can you give us some more on these lines? Aside from cartoons?

SCHNEIDER:

WELL, THERE'S LANGSTON HUGHES, THE FAMOUS NEGRO WRITE WITH HIS PERHAPS EQUALLY FAMOUS CREATION, "SIMPLE," WHO HAS ENLIVENED THE DEFENDER. HERE, ON NOVEMBER 8, 1958, WE FIND SIMPLE DISCUSSING THE SUBJECT OF CATS A AND DOGS. HIS ARRESTING THEME IS THAT HARLEM HAS HARDLY ENOUGH ROOM FOR HUMANS, MUCH LESS FOR CATS AND DOGS. ON MARCH 21, 1959, SIMPLE TELLS US WHAT HE WOULD DO IF HE WERE PRESIDENT. AND HERE, THERE DCES SEEM TO BE SOME IMPLICIT CRITICISM OF THE ADMINISTRA-TION, AND PERHAPS, ALSO, A TINGE OF PROVINCIALISM. IN ANY CASE, SIMPLE WOULD PAY SOME ATTENTION TO HOME RACE PROBLEMS. INSTEAD OF TALKING ABOUT A CONFERENCE AT THE "SUMMIT," HOW ABOUT A CONFERENCE AT THE "BOTTO WHICH IS LITTLE ROCK? ON ANOTHER ACCASION, SIMPLE CONTEMPLATES BECOMING MOSLEM. HE THINKS TO PROGRESS FROM N TO M -- N STANDS FOR NEGRO, W FOR MAN. BUT THE WOULD BE PRACTICAL DIFFICULTIES WHICH STAY HIM.... DIFFICULTIES LIKE GETTING HIS BAPTIST WIFE TO ACCEPT THE CHANGE.

ANOTHER WRITER WHOSE MATERIAL HAS APPEARED IN THE DEFENDER IS ENOCH P. VATERS. UNDER THE TITLE "ADVEN-TURES IN RACE RELATIONS" ON NOVEMBER 8, 1958, MR. CATERS NOTES THAT WITH SCHOOLS CLOSED, NEGRO AND WHITE CHILDREN ARE FINALLY GETTING THE SAME THING--NO EDUCATION AT ALL. ON FEBRUARY 28, 1959, MR. VATERS DIS USSES THE FORMS OF RATIONALIZATION NEGROES HAVE DEVELOPED ABOUT THEIR RACE TO HELP THEMSELVES ACCEPT THE FACT THAT THEY ARE SLACK. ON APRIL 4, 1959, IT APPEARS THAT THOUGH NO NEGRO FIGHTER HAS BEEN KNOWN BY A COLOR NICKNAME IN RECENT YEARS, NATERS EXPECTS, IN KEEPING WITH THE TIMES, FOR ONE OF MIXED PARENTAGE TO BE NAMED "INTEGRATED" ROCKEY JOHNSON. ON DECEMBER 6, 1958, MR. WATERS TELLS THE STORY OF A NEGRO U.S. MARSHALL, A STORY INTENDED TO SHOW THAT IF YOU ARE A NEGRO YOU HAVE A RACIAL PROBLEM, NO MATTER WHAT YOUR JOB.

RICHTER:

I DON'T SOUDT THAT YOU COULD GO ON, LOU, BUT I THINK WE NOW HAVE A PRETTY GOOD NOTION OF WHAT THE MATERIAL YOU'VE BEEN DISCUSSING IS LIKE. FOULD YOU CARE TO GIVE US A BRIEL STATEMENT OF HOW YOU THINK NEGRO NEWSPAPERS FUNCTION FOR THEIR READERS?

SCHNEIDER:

I'D LOVE TO BE ABLE TO ANSWER THAT QUESTION WITH FULLNESS AND PRECISION. I CAN'T DO SO, MND I'LL LIMIT MYSELF TO SOME OF THE MORE OBVIOUS "POSITIVE" KINDS OF THINGS. EVIDENTLY NEWSPAPERS LIKE THESE CONSTITUTE'A MEDIUM OF EXPRESSION. THEY PRESENT SYMBOLICALLY SIGNIFICANT FIGURES LIKE OUR FRIEND SIMPLE TO SPEAK FOR THE NEGRO THEY FIGHT FOR THE NEGRO'S RIGHTS, THEY SHARPEN HIS UNDERSTANDING, THEY RALLY HIM TO THE SUPPORT OF AGENCIES THAT ARE HELPFUL TO HIM. ON THE WHOLE, I WOULD BE INCLINED TO SAY THE THEY ARE EFFECTIVE IN BUILDING UP NEGRO MCRALE IN THE FIGHT AGAINST SEGREGATION, SISCRIMINATION AND PREJUDICE.

RICHTER:

VE NOW HAVE SOME UNDERSTANDING OF THE LIMITATIONS PLACED ON NEGRO JOURNALISM IN TE MS OF STRUCTURE AND CONTENT....AND TURNING FROM THIS, WHAT WE MIGHT CALL PRACTICAL, ART FORM TO THE FINE ARTS, WHAT CAN WE SAY ABOUT THE NEGRO'S CONTRIBUTION IN THE LATTER AREA? THAT SORT OF LIMITATIONS HAVE BEEN PLACED ON THE NEGRO, AND HOW HAVE THESE LIMITATIONS AFFECTED HIS ARTISTIC EFFORTS?

SCHNEIDER:

THE NEGRO HAS MADE SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTIONS IN THE SPHERE OF THE ARTS. HE HAS SHOWN DEFINITE POETIC TALENT. HIS CONTRIBUTION TO MUSIC, AS IS WELL KNOWN, IS DISTINCTIVE AND VERY HIGHLY PROVOCATIVE. LMOST ANY COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE WORK OF THE NEGRO IN THE ARTS WOULD ALSO FEATURE CONTRIBUTIONS IN THE NOVE THE DRAMA, THE DANCE, FOLKLORE, PAINTING, SCULPTURE. BUT THERE HAVE, WITHOUT QUESTION, BEEN LIMITATIONS. ONE OF THE OUTSTANDING ONES, I WOULD SAY, IS SIMPLY THIS. THE NEGRO IN THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN, BY A KIND OF SOCIAL NECESSITY, SO PREOCCUPIED WITH THE RACIAL PROBLEM AS SUCH, THAT A VERY, VERY GREAT DEAL OF HIS WORK IN THE VARIOUS FIELDS OF ART HAS CONCEN-TRATED UPON SPECIFICALLY RACIAL THEMES. ONE MIGHT SA WITH REGARD TO THIS, THAT THERE HAVE BEEN MANY TALENT MEN AND WOMEN WHOSE ABILITIES MIGHT HAVE BEEN CONCEN TRATED UPON MATTERS OF INTEREST TO ALL ARTISTS, AND / CONSUMERS OF ART, BUT WHO WERE SOMEWHAT TRAGICALLY CONFINED TO RACIAL SUBJECTS ALONE. PARTLY THE PRE-OCCUPATION COMING OUT OF SOCIAL NECESSITY, WHICH I'VE MENTIONED, IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS. PARTLY, ALSO. 1-HAS BEEN DUE TO EXPECTATIONS ON THE PART OF WHITES WHO HAVE TENDED TO THINK THAT THE NEGRO SHOULD BE EXCLUSIVELY CONCERNED WITH THE THINGS OF THE NEGRO. PARTLY IT HAS BEEN BOUND UP WITH THE ATTITUDES OF NEGRO PUBLICS WHICH, CONSTRAINED AND PRESSURED BY THE SAME GENERAL MILIEU WHICH HAS CONSTRAINED THE ARTIST HAVE ALSO EXPECTED, OR EVEN DEMANDED, THAT THE NEGRO ARTIST CONFINE HIMSELF TO THE VITAL RACIAL THEMES.

RICHTER:

YOU SPEAK ABOUT WHITE EXPECTATIONS, LOU, AND I NOTICE ALSO THAT ONE OF THE FIRST THINGS YOU MENTIONED WAS POETRY. SOME TIME AGO I HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO SPEAK WITH NICK AARON FORD, HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH AT MORGAN STATE COLLEGE AT BALTIMORE, MARYLAI AND AUTHOR AND EDITOR OF A NUMBER OF BOOKS OF INTERESTO THE STUDENT OF AMERICAN NEGRO LITERATURE. DR. FOR SHOWS US HOW, IN THE PARTICULAR CASE OF ONE NEGRO POET OF ABILITY, STEREOTYPED EXPECTATIONS ON THE PART OF OTHERS LED TO A DEEP PERSONAL HURT.

FORD:

DURING THE POST-CIVIL WAR PERIOD UP TO WORLD WAR II-THINK WE MIGHT STOP THERE, BECAUSE AFTER WORLD WAR I THINGS CHANGED CONSIDERABLY,--BUT IF WE TAKE THE POS

CIVIL TAR PERIOD, ONE OF THE MAJOR LIMITATIONS ON THE NEGRO'S ARTISTIC CONTRIBUTIONS WAS THE REFUSAL OF THE MERICAN PUBLIC TO ACCEPT AS GENUINE ANY ARTISTIC CREATION THAT DID NOT CONFORM TO THE NEGRO STEREOTYPE THE TRAGEDY OF PAUL LAURENCE DUNBAR, A TALENTED NEGRO POET WHO DIED AT THE AGE OF 34, IS A GOOD EXAMPLE. DURING THE 12 YEAR PERIOD FROM HIS 22ND BIRTHDAY TO HIS DEATH, HE WROTE 4 VOLUMES OF POEMS, 4 VOLUMES OF SHORT STORIES, AND 4 NOVELS. BUT DESPITE THE HIGH QUALITY OF HIS INTELLECT AND HIS CRAFTSMANSHIP, THE CRITICS AND THE PUBLIC INSISTED ON JUDGING HIM EX-CLUSIVELY BY HIS DIALECT PIECES. NOW HE HATED DIALECT. HE DID NOT WANT TO WRITE IN DIALECT. BUT THE PUBLIC EXPECTED THAT, AND THEY FELT THAT THAT WAS THE KIND OF NEGRO GENUINE STYLE, AND IF HE DID ANYTHING ELSE IT WAS ENTIRELY IMITATIVE. IN FACT, Louis Untermeyer, in his anthology of the ICAN POETRY SINCE 1900, SAYS, AND I'M QUOTING....I'D LIKE TO QUOTE HIM HERE, BECAUSE ! THINK IT'S VERY IMPORTANT TO SEE HOW THESE ATTITUDES HAVE PERSISTED. LOUIS Untermeyer says, "In purely creative work the Negro SEEMS TO SUFFER FROM AN INHIBITION THAT PREVENTS HIM FROM EXPRESSING HIS OWN EMOTIONS. INSTEAD OF GIVING FREE REIN TO A VISION SHARPLY DIFFERENTIATED FROM THE OF HIS WHITE COMPATRIOTS, HE IS TOO OFTEN CONTENT TO APETHEIR GESTURES, THEIR INFLECTIONS, TOO ANXIOUS TO IMITATE WITH A STAMMERING COMPLACENCE THEIR OWN IMIT-ATIONS. INSTEAD OF BEING PROUDLY RACE CONSCIOUS, HE IS TOO OFTEN MERELY SELF-CONSCIOUS." UNQUOTE. Now, TO ILLUSTRATE HIS POINT OF VIEW. UNTERMEYER PRAISES AS "NATIVE AND GENUINELY EMOTIONAL" A DEATH SONG BY DUNBAR WHICH IS ONLY A RHYTHMIC JINGLE IN DIALECT, OVERBURDENED WITH SENTIMENTALITY, WHILE HE CONDEMNS AS MAUDLIN AND IMITATIVE "SHIPS THAT PASS IN THE NIGHT BY THE SAME POET, A POEM OF UNIVERSAL APPEAL THAT MAKES A POWERFUL APPLICATION OF IDEAS TO LIFE, BUT ONE WHICH IS WRITTEN IN LITERARY ENGLISH RATHER THAN DIALECT. THE HEART-BROKEN POET, DYING FROM TUBERCULOSIS, EXPRESSED HIS FEELING ABOUT SUCH AN ATTITUDE IN THE FOLLOWING LINES: "HE SANG OF LIFE, SERENELY SWEET / JITH NOW AND THEN A DEEPER NOTE / FROM SOME HIGH PEAK, NIGH, YET REMOTE/ HE VOICED THE WORLL ADSORBING BEAT. / HE SANG OF LOVE WHEN EARTH WAS YOUN AND LOVE ITSELF WAS IN HIS LAYS/ BUT AH, THE WORLD I TURNED TO PRAISE / . JINGLE IN A BROKEN TONGUE. / " YOU SEE, THAT WAS HIS REACTION TO BEING FORCED TO WRITE DIALECT.

SCHNEIDER:

I KNOW THAT DR. FORD IS WELL AWARE THAT THERE HAS DEESOME MITIGATION OF THIS SITUATION. HE AND OTHERS MIGHT MENTION CASES LIKE THAT OF WILLARD MOTLEY, A NOVELIST WHO HAS DROKEN QUITE FREE OF LIMITATION TO NEGRO THEMES. CASES LIKE THAT OF THE WRITER FRANK YERBY, ALSO A NOVELIST, WHO HAS BROKEN FREE OF RACIA

THEMES, AND WHOSE NOVELS, INCIDENTALLY, HAVE GEEN ENORMOUSLY POPULAR. THESE ARE FAIRLY OBVIOUS CASES. SO THERE HAS BEEN SOME BREAKING OF THE MOULDS. OF COURSE, TO STRESS THE TREMENDOUS PRESSURE UPON THE NEGRO ARTIST OF THE PECULIAR **MERICAN MILIEU IS NOT TO SAY THAT HE CONCERNS HIMSELF WITH NOTHING BUT NEGRO LIMITATIONS UNDER **MERICAN CONDITIONS. THE POETS, FOR EXAMPLE, SING, AS POETS GENERALLY DO, OF LOVE, ADVENTURE AND THE BEAUTIES OF NATURE WITHOUT NECESSARILY MAKING ANY RACIAL REFERENCE.

RICHTER:

Now, WE HAVE VERY LITTLE TIME LEFT, LOU, BUT I THINK WE SHOULD HAVE SOME NOTION OF THE NEGRO'S STYLE AND FEELING. NO IN THE MOMENTS WE HAVE LEFT, I'D LIKE TO READ CLAUDE MCKAY'S FAMOUS, "IF WE MUST DIE," WHICH I WANT TO READ DECAUSE IT SO NICELY SETS THE STAGE FOR NEXT WEEK'S PROGRAM WHICH IS ON NEGRO PROTEST.

WEEK'S PROGRAM WHICH IS ON NEGRO PROTEST.

IF WE MUST DIE, LET IT NOT BE LIKE HOGS

HUNTED AND PENNED IN AN INGLORIOUS SPOT,

WHILE ROUND US BARK THE MAD AND HUNGRY DOGS,

MAKING THEIR MOCK AT OUR ACCURSED LOT.

IF WE MUST DIE, O LET US NOBLY DIE,

SO THAT OUR PRECIOUS BLOOD MAY NOT BE SHED

IN VAIN; THEN EVEN THE MONSTERS WE DEFY

SHALL BE CONSTRAINED TO HONOR US THOUGH DEAD!

O KINSMEN! WE MUST MEET THE COMMON FOE!

THOUGH FAR OUTNUMBERED LET US SHOW US BRAVE,

AND FOR THEIR THOUSAND BLOWS DEAL ONE DEATHBLOW!

WHAT THOUGH BEFORE US LIES THE OPEN GRAVE?

LIKE MEN WE'LL FACE THE MURDEROUS, COWARDLY PACK,

PRESSED TO THE WALL, DYING, BUT FIGHTING BACK!

MUSIC THEME UP NO UNDER

INNCR:

You have been distening to Dr. Louis Schneider, professor of Sociology at Purdue University and the program's producer-director, E. a. Richter, as they discuss "The Last Citizen". This program was produced and recorded by #3 a., Purdue University, under a grant from the Educational Television and Radio Center and is being distributed by the National Association of Educational Broadcasters.

MUSIC THEME UP TO FINISH

NNCR: THIS IS THE NAEB RADIO NETWORK.

THE LIST CITIZEN

PROGRAM 15

COURTS:

"Ve're goin' to tell you this: You Negroes in Humphreys
County: The Nouch is not going to operate here, and
you are not going to vote in Humphreys County, so
you'd just as "ell go and get your name off. If you
don't, you're going to be put out of business."

MUSIC: STINGER

NNCR:

THE STORY OF THE INTIMIDATION OF THE NEGRO IS A LONG AND VARIED ONE. HARRASSMENT BY MOBS, ANONYMOUS TELEPHONE CALLS, BEATINGS, KILLINGS, AND BOMBINGS....
THREATS OF ECONOMIC AND OTHER REPRISALS HAVE ALL PLAYED A PART IN THIS STORY. LISTEN AS WE TELL PART OF THIS STORY TODAY AS WE CONTINUE TO EXPLORE THE WORLD OF THE NEGRO IN MERICA, "THE LAST CITIZEN."

MUSIC: STINGER

NNCR: THE LAST CITIZEN: THE NEGRO IN AMERICA. A SERIES OF PROGRAMS DEVOTED TO THE EXTENSION OF OUR KNOWLEDGE OF THE LARGEST MINORITY GROUP IN THE UNITED STATES, ITS PROBLEMS, AND THE PROBLEMS IT POSES TO ALL AMERICANS. THE LAST CITIZEN IS PRODUCED BY RADIO STATION WBAY, PURDUE UNIVERSITY, UNDER A GRANT FROM THE EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION AND RADIO CENTER, IN COOPERATION WITH THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTERS. THE DISCUSSANTS ARE THE PRODUCER OF THE SERIES, E. W. RICHTER, AND DR. LOUIS SCHNEIDER, PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY AT PURDUE UNIVERSITY. TODAY'S PROGRAM: INTIMI ATION. HERE NOW, IS MR. RICHTER.

RICHTER: TODAY WE BEGIN THE FIRST OF A SERIES OF THREE PROGRAMS DEVOTED TO WHAT WE ARE TERMING "INTIMIDATION, PROTEST AND DEFENSE. " WE UNDERSTAND BY INTIMIDATION, ROUGHLY ANY ACTIVITY INVOLVING VIOLENCE OR A THREAT OF VIOLENCE THAT WILL TEND TO PREVENT THE NEGRO FROM ASSERTING RIGHTS OR EXERCISING PRIVILEGES TO WHICH HE IS IN SOME SENSE ENTITLED -- FOR INSTANCE BY LAW. THE INTI-MIDATION MAY BE CONSCIOUSLY UNDERTAKEN BY WHITES WHO DELIBERATELY ACT TO PREVENT THE NEGRO FROM ... OBTAIN-ING SOMETHING. THE SOMETHING MIGHT BE UNSEGREGATED EDUCATION, EQUAL STATUS IN A COURT OF LAW, THE VOTING RIGHT, AND SO ON. ON THE OTHER HAND, INTIMIDATION MA BE DIRECTED TO NO SPECIAL PURPOSE THAT THOSE DIOING THE INTIMIDATING HAVE IN MIND. VOULD GO ALONG WITH THIS. LOU?

SCHNE LDER:

I THINK SO. THEN YOU SAY THAT INTIMIDATION NEED NOT BE DIRECTED TO ANY SPECIAL PURPOSE, I AM REMINDED OF THIS: A CERTAIN PATTERN OF RELATIONS BETWEEN NEGROES AND WHITES IN VARIOUS COMMUNITIES HAS BEEN NOTED BY A NUMBER OF INVESTIGATORS. I THINK, FOR INSTANCE, OF THE STUDY OF DEEP SOUTH, DONE BY ALLISON DAVIS AND OTHERS WE FIND ACCORDING TO THIS WORK, THE NEGRO-WHITE RELATIONS CAN TAKE ON A CERTAIN CYCLICAL FORM. SPECIFICALLY, IN A SOUTHERN COMMUNITY LET'S SAY NEGROES, OVER TIME, BECOME GRADUALLY LESS DEFERENTIAL TO WHITES. THEY BEGIN TO MUMBLE "SIR" IN ADDRESSING WHITE MEN. PERHAPS THEY EVEN EXPERIMENT NOW AND THEN WITH LEAVING OUT THE "SIR" ALTOGETHER. THEY REFUSE TO GIVE WAY ON SIDEWALKS. THEY AREN'T SUFFICIENTLY SELF-EFFACING WHEN THEY AWAIT SERVICE IN STORES ALONG WITH WHITE CUSTOMERS, AND SO ON. BUT ONE DAY SOME WHITE CUSTOMERS, AND SO ON. BUT ONE DAY SOME WHITE PERSON DECIDES, IN A BOILING UP OF TEMPER, THAT "THINGS HAVE GONE FAR ENOUGH" AND ADMINISTERS A PUBLI BEATING TO AN "UPPITY" NEGRO. THEN THERE MAY WELL DEVELOP A RENEWED TENDENCY FOR NEGROES TO BECOME DEFERENTIAL. PERHAPS THE "SIR" COMES BACK PLAIN AND EMPHATIC. AND THERE ARE CORRESPONDING CHANGES ON THE SIDEWALKS, IN THE STORES, AND SO ON. A CERTAIN "EQUI-LIBRIUM" HAS BEEN RESTORED. NOW, I SUPPOSE ONE COULD THINK OF THIS KIND OF THING AS INVOLVING INTIMIDATION FOR ITS OWN SAKE, AND YET THERE COULD WELL BE IN IT--ELEMENTS OF CONSCIOUS THOUGHT ON THE LINE THAT A GENERAL SUBORDINATION OF THE NEGRO COMMUNITY MUST BE RESTORED. I SUPPOSE, TOO, THAT EVEN WHEN THERE ARE CONSCIOUS ELEMENTS LIKE THIS, YOU MIGHT STILL WANT TO CALL THIS GENERAL PURPOSE INTIMIDATION. I THINK, TOO, WE SHOULD NOTE THAT INTIMIDATION IS IN A WAY A DIFFUSE AFFAIR. BY THIS MEAN, SIMPLY, THAT THERE ARE MANY ANTI-WEGRO ACTIVITIES IN WHICH INTIMID ATION IS A MORE OR LESS INCIDENTAL, OR AT ANY RATE, INSTRUMENTAL THING. IT'S ONE KIND OF ACTIVITY UNDER-TAKEN, AMONG OTHERS, TO ACHIEVE CERTAIN RESULTS. YOU MAY, FOR EXAMPLE, WANT TO PREVENT NEGROES FROM GOING TO WHITE SCHOOLS, AND LET'S SAY THIS IS YOUR PRIMARY PURPOSE. THEN, VIRTUALLY ANY USABLE TACTIC THAT COME TO HAND MAY BE VALUED. NO YOU MAY TURN TO INTIMIDA-TION WHEN PROMISES, PERSUASION, RIDICULE, AND THE LIK HAVE FAILED. SO ALSO, INTIMIDATION MAY BE PART OF TH ARMAMENTARIUM OF THOSE WHO WISH TO PREVENT THE NEGRO FROM VOTING, OR DOING ANY OF A NUMBER OF OTHER THINGS

RICHTER:

Now, I MIGHT LIKE FOR US TO GO ON IN THIS VEIN, BUT OUR PRIMARY OBJECT TODAY IS TO ACHIEVE A VERY CONCRESS UNDERSTANDING OF HOW INTIMIDATION WORKS. MOST OF US ARE AWARE THAT THE NEGRO IN THE SOUTH IS FREQUENTLY INTIMIDATED WHEN IT COMES TO EXERCISING HIS VOTING RIGHTS. BUT HOW MANY OF US REALLY KNOW WHAT INTIMID-

ATION MEANS IN THE CONCRETE -- IF I MAY SO PUT IT--IN THE FLESH? WHAT EXACTLY DOES IT INVOLVE? IT IS, I THING, ILLUMINATING FOR US, AT LEAST AT TIMES, TO GET INVOLVED IN DETAIL. AND THIS IS, AGAIN, WHAT WE WANT TO LOOK FOR TODAY, THE IMPACT OF THESE ABSTRACTIONS UPON INDIVIDUALS. WHAT INTIMIDATION MEANS TO THIS AND THAT PARTICULAR NEGRO. IND ALSO HOW INTIMIDATION WORKS IN VARIOUS PARTICULAR AREAS IN WHICH THE NEGRO SEEKS TO ASSERT THE RIGHTS, OR EXERCISE THE PRIVILEGES MENTIONED IN OUR INITIAL DEFINTION ... THEREFORE, LET'S TURN TO A STATEMENT THAT IS PERTINENT TO THE VERY IMPORTANT AREA OF THE NEGRO VOTE. THE STATEMENT PERHAPS BRINGS OUT MORE THAN THE SHEER MATTER OF INTIMIDATION IN CONNECTION WITH VOTING IN THE SOUTH, BUT INTIMIDATION IS A CEN-TRALLY IMPORTANT PART OF IT. HERE THEN IS DR. HERMAN LONG, DIRECTOR OF THE RACE RELATIONS DEPA TMENT OF THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION AT FISK UNIVERSITY.

L'ONG :

SUSPECT, I RATHER STRONGLY BELIEVE, THAT THE MAJOR FACTOR WHICH REDUCES THE NUMBER OF NEGROES WHO ARE REGISTERED AND WHO CAN VOTE, IS THE FACT THAT PRESSURES OPERATE DIRECTLY UPON HIM IN THE ACT OF SEEKING TO GET REGISTERED. LET ME TRY TO DESCRIBE WHAT I MEAN. REGISTRATION IN THE AVER GE SOUTHERN COMMUNITY TAKES PLACE IN THE COURTHOUSE. IF THIS COURTHOUSE IS IN A SMALL TOWN, IT HAS ABOUT IT, AN AVERAGE NUMBER OF HANGERS ON, OF SMALL POLITICIANS, OF POLICE, OF SHER-IFFS, OF DEPUTIES, OF PEOPLE WHO IN SOME MEASURE ARE ASSOCIATED WITH THE POWER STRUCTURE OF THAT COMMUNITY. AND, OF COURSE, MANY WHITES IN THE SOUTH WHO BELIEVE THAT THEY ARE THEMSELVES THE LAW SY THE VERY FACT THAT THEY HAPPEN TO BE WHITE PERSONS. WHEN A NEGRO GOES INTO THIS UNWELCOME ATMOSPHERE OF THE COUNTY COURT-HOUSE TO REGISTER, HE'S NOT ONLY MET WITH THIS SITUA-TION WHICH IS AWE INSPIRING TO HIM, BUT HE IS MET AT THE DESK OF THE REGISTRAR WITH A PERSON WHOSE ATTITUDE IS AGAINST HIS ACTUAL REGISTERING, AND WHO PROCEEDS IN THE CONVERSATION WHICH WOULD ENSUE, TO PLACE ALL SORTS OF HURDLES, IN THE WAY OF THE NEGRO SEEKING TO GET BLANKS TO FILL OUT, OR EVEN IN THE WAY THAT HE WOULD INTERPRET THE QUESTIONS ON A BLANK, AND SO ON. NO THEN IN MANYCASES HE'S MET WITH AN OUT-AND-OUT ATTITUDE OF REFUSAL. BOARDS OF REGISTRARS HAVE EXPRESSED THEMSELVES, OR INDIVIDUAL REGISTRARS, AS SAYING THAT 'I WILL NOT REGISTER A SINGLE NEGRO IN THIS COUNTY." ELL, THIS IS A THREAT. THIS IS A VEILED THREAT, IN SOME CASES, IT'S A DIRECT THREAT. ND SO THE PROCESS IS JUST BLOCKED BY THIS KIND OF INFORMAL, BUT NEVERTHELESS AWFULLY POWERFUL, EFFORT ON THE PART OF THE WHITE PUBLIC TO PUT EVERY STUMBLING BLOCK IN THE WAY OF THE NEGRO. NOW, IF THE NEGRO STILL PERSISTS IN HIS EFFORT IN THE SMALL TOWN AND FREQUENTLY IN THE LARGE COMMUNITY TO VOTE AND MAKES A DEMAND TO DO SO, THEN HE FREQUENTLY, IF HE SEEKS TO RALLY

OTHER NEGROES IN THE PROCESS AND IT'S A TYPE OF MASS EFFORT TO REGISTER, HE MAY HAVE DIRECT FORMS OF INTI-MIDATION PLACED IN HIS WAY -- THE SHOOTING OF THE NEGRO LEADER IN MISSISSIPPI ABOUT TWO YEARS AGO, I THINK IS AN EXAMPLE, THIS KIND OF DIRECT ACT OF VIOLENCE. OUT OF MY OWN EXPERIENCE, REMEMBER WHEN I WENT TO THE COURTHOUSE IN MY HOME TOWN IN BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA. REGISTER. THIS TIME I WAS TEACHING IN COLLEGE. IT TOOK ME ABOUT AN HOUR AND A GALF TO GO THROUGH THE PROCESS OF FILLING OUT A SINGLE BLANK SIMPLY BECAUSE THE CLERK AT THE COUNTER DID NOT AGREE WITH THE INTER-PRETATION THAT ! MADE OF THE ITEMS ON THE BLANK THAT I HAD FILLED OUT. NOW, UNDERSTAND, THAT NO DIRECTIONS WERE GIVEN ME AS TO WHETHER OR NOT THE ITEMS | HAD FILLED OUT WERE CORRECT OR NOT. THE BLANK WAS SIMPLY GIVEN BACK TO ME SAYING, "THAT'S NOT RIGHT." SO I WOULD SCRATCH ME HEAD AND | WOULD TRY TO GIVE ANOTHER INTER-PRETATION AND GIVE THE BLANK BACK. IT WOULD BE RETURNED TO ME JUST AS CURTLY, "THAT'S NOT RIGHT, YET." AND YET, BESIDE ME HERE WAS A CLERK, NOT ONLY INTERPRETING THE ITEMS TO WHITES WHO WERE SEEKING TO REGISTER, BUT IN MANY CASES ACTUALLY FILLING OUT THE BLANKS FOR THEM. Now THIS ACT FOR ME TOOK A GOOD PART OF A DAY, A HALF A DAY. IT WAS AN ACT, IN SO FAR AS THE WHITE PUBLIC WAS CONCERNED WHO WERE IN PROCESS OF REGISTERING, IT TOOK ONLY PART OF FIFTEEN OR TWENTY MINUTES WITH ALL KINDS OF ASSISTANCE. NOW, IF YOU MULTIPLY, IF THIS WAS DIFFICULT FOR ME, AT THAT LEVEL, WITH THE DEGREE OF EDUCATION WHICH I HAD AT THAT TIME, YOU CAN CONCEIVE OF HOW DIFFI-CULT IT WOULD BE FOR THE MAN WHO HAS ONLY A FIFTH GRADE EDUCATION, AND WHO IS NOT KNOWLEDGEABLE ABOUT WHAT HIS RIGHTS ARE, IN THIS KIND OF SITUATION. THIS EXPLAINS. MORE THAN ANYTHING ELSE, I THINK, WHY YOU HAVE ONLY ABOUT SAY A MILLION AND A HALF, PROBABLY, OR MAYBE TWO MILLION NEGROES, VOTING, ACTUALLY EQUIPPED TO VOTE AN REGISTER AT THE PRESENT TIME. THIS IS THE BASIC QUES-TION THAT, THAT THE CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION, THESE TACTICS, THESE MEASURES, ARE THE DASIC MEASURES THAT HAVE TO BE GOTTEN AT BY THE PRESIDENT'S CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION. IF THERE'S GOING TO BE ANY SUBSTANTIAL CHANGE IN THE EXERCISE OF THE NEGRO TO THE RIGHT TO VOTE IT IS A PATTERN OF INTIMIDATION, SUBTLE, IT IS A PATTER'S OF INTIMIDATION WHICH FREQUENTLY IS NOT SUBTLE. IT IS PATTERN OF SABOTAGE, REFUSAL ON THE PART EVEN OF PUBLIC OFFICIALS. THIS IS THE THING THAT HAS TO BE ATTACKED, IT SEEMS TO ME, IF THERE IS TO BE A FULL EXTENSION OF THE RIGHT TO VOTE TO THIS LARGE SEGMENT OF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC.

RICHTER:

PERHAPS WE MIGHT EXTEND THIS ILLUMINATING STATEMENT BY DR. LONG. AS YOU LOOK OVER OUR WEALTH OF MATERIALS ON THIS ENTIRE MATTER OF INTIMIDATIONK WHAT SEEMS TO YOU APPROPRIATE, LOU, AS SOMETHING TO ADD IN ORDER TO PIECE OUT...AGAIN IN DETAIL AND VIVIDLY AND CONCRETELY.... THE STORY OF INTIMIDATION IN REGARD TO THE NEGRO VOTING IN THE SOUTH?

SCHNEIDER:

I THINK PERHAPS THE STORY OF GUS COURTS IS AS VIVIDLY ILLUSTRATIVE OF INTIMIDATION IN CONNECTION WITH VOTING AS ANYTHING WE HAVE. LET ME EXPLAIN THIS MUCH: IN THE SPRING OF 1956 A NATIONAL LEADERSHIP COUNCIL ON CIVIL RIGHTS WAS TOLD ABOUT WHAT HAD BEEN HAPPENING TO ONE NEGRO CITIZEN IN THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI, A MAN NAMED GUS COURTS, IN CONNECTION WITH HIS EFFORTS TO OTE. COURTS LIVES IN A COUNTY IN MISSISSIPPI IN WHICH THERE ARE ABOUT 17,000 NEGROES AND LESS THAN HALF THAT NUMBER OF WHITES. COURTS ASSUMED A ROLE OF LEADERSHIP IN THE EFFORT TO HAVE NEGROES VOTE IN HIS COUNTY. HEN HE HIMSELF FIRST ATTEMPTED TO VOTE NO NEGROES WERE REGISTERED TO VOTE, AND COURTS TRIED TO REGISTER IN 1953. I THINK AT THIS POINT WE MIGHT LET HIM AND HIS QUESTIONER AT THE COUNCIL IN 1956, TAKE UP THE TALE.

COURTS:

CELL, WE STARTED IN 1953. WE WENT TO THE SHERIFF'S OFFICE AND TRIED TO PAY OUR POLL TAX, WHICH WE WERE REFUSED. AFTER WE WERE REFUSED A FEW OF US GOT TOGETHER AND GOT UP, WE RAISED, ABOUT \$300 AND HAD AN AFFIDAVIT BROUGHT AGAINST THE SHERIFF AND HAD HIM DEFORE THE FEDERAL GRAND JURY TO MAKE HIM, FORCED HIM TO OPEN THE BOOKS, IN OTHER WORDS TO LET US PAY POLL TAX. WHICH THEY....AND OF COURSE MYSELF AND REVEREND GEORGE W. LEE WAS ONE OF THE LEADERS AND SEVERAL OTHERWAS SUMMONED BEFORE THAT GRAND JURY. AND THE SHERIFF GOES UP AND MAKES HIS APOLOGY, THAT IF THEY DIDN'T INDICT HIM HE WOULD GO BACK AND OPEN THE BOOKS AND LET US PAY POLL TAX AND ALSO LET, SEE THAT THE NEGROES.

M.N:

AH, HOW MANY OF YOU PAID THE POLL TAX?

COURTS:

VELL, WHEN THEY OPENED UP THE....WHEN WE GOT THE BOOKS OPENED UP ABOUT 400, WE SUCCEEDED IN GETTING ABOUT 400 Negroes in Humphreys County to pay their poll tax.

MAN:

Now, THIS 400 WHO PAID THEIR POLL TAX, DID YOU GET ANY OF THEM REGISTERED?

COURTS:

VE SUCCEEDED IN GETTING ABOUT 94 REGISTERED.

M.N:

THEN WAS THAT?

COURTS:

THAT WAS IN 1954. THEN THE LEGISLATURE PASSED A LAW AND MADE IT SO RIGIDY, THAT THE NEGROES AND NOBODY ELECTION'T REGISTER IN THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI, UNLESS THE REGISTRAR WANTED THEM TO DO SO.

MAN:

IN OTHER WORDS THE REQUIREMENTS WERE APPLIED ONLY TO THE NEGROES AND NOT TO THE WHITES, IS THAT CORRECT?

COURTS:

WELL....THE WAY THAT IT WAS PUT OUT, IT WAS FOR THE

Negroes, and some of them raised a question and said, "Well, the register understands, he knows now to do that."

MIN:

 $_{\rm WELL}$, Now, of the 94 people who registered in 1954, when DID they first try to vote?

COURTS:

19....IN '55.

MIN:

WELL, WHAT HAPPENED WHEN THEY TRIED TO VOTE IN 1955?

COURTS:

WELL, JUST PRIOR TO THAT, I MUST SAY I HAVE TO MAKE THIS STATEMENT, IN 1954 THE CITIZENS' COUNCIL WAS ORG NIZED. HEN WE FIRST HAD THE SHERIFF UP TO ... BEFORE THE FEDERAL GRAND JURY THE CITIZENS' COUNCIL WASN'T ORGANIZED IN HUMPHREYS COUNTY. THEY GOT ORGAN-IZED IN \$54. AND IT SO DID ... THEY ORGANIZED LIKE ONE DAY. THE NEXT DAY THEY HAD ME UP BEFORE THE CITIZENS' COUNCIL COMMITTEE, TO TELL ME WHAT THEY HAD DONE. AND THEY TOLD ME "WE HAVE ORGANIZED A CITIZENS' COUNCIL HERE IN HUMPHREYS COUNTY. WE UNDERSTAND THAT YOU'RE LEADING THESE NEGROES AND TEACHING THEM TO VOTE. NOT ONLY THAT BUT YOU'S THE PRESIDENT, THEY TELL US, THAT YOU ARE THE PRESIDENT OF THE NANCH BRANCH, AND WE'RE NOT GOING TO LET IT OPERATE HERE IN HUMPHREYS COUNTY EITHER. THEY ASKED ME, TAS 12" I SAY I CERTAINLY AM. I'M THE PRESIDENT OF THE NAACP." "WELL, YOU HOW MANY MEMBERS DO YOU HAVE BELONG TO THE NA CHOM SAID, "WELL, THERE ARE.... | CAN'T TELL YOU." HE SAID, "THY? AREN'T YOU THE PRESIDENT?" I SAID, "ALL I KNOW, JUST ME. I'M THE PRESIDENT OF IT. " THEY SAID, THEY SAID, THEY ASKED ME, "WELL, HOW ABOUT GOING AND GETTIM YOUR BOOKS AND TURNING THEM OVER TO THEM?" | ASKED TH THEM, I SAID, "ARE YOU FORCING ME TO DO THAT?" "NO, NO WE'RE NOT FORCING YOU TO DO THAT." I SAID, "WELL, I REFUSE TO DO IT." THEY SAID, "HELL, THERE AIN'T NOTH! WE CAN DO ABOUT THAT." BUT SAID, "WE'RE GOIN' TO TELL YOU THIS: YOU NEGROES IN HUMPHREYS COUNTY: THE N MACP IS NOT GOING TO OPERATE HERE, AND YOU ARE NOT VOTE IN HUMPHREYS COUNTY, SO YOU'D JUST AS WELL TO GO AND GET YOUR NAME OFF, IF YOU DON'T YOU'RE GOING TO BE PUT OUT OF DUSINESS." I WAS OPERATING A STORE, A DUSINESS DOING ABOUT \$25,000 BUSINESS A YE.R.

MAN:

WHAT DID THEY DO ADOUT YOUR STORE WHEN YOU TOLD THEM YOU WOULDN'T GET OFF THE REGISTER?

COURTS:

WELL, WHEN I TOLD THEM THAT I WASN'T GOING TO GET OFF, THEY SENT THE REPRESENTATIVE DOWN DAY OR TWO AFTER THAT AND HAD ME BACK BEFORE THE COMMITTEE. THIS TIME THE...THIS FELLA, HE WAS A MEMBER OF THE CITIZENS' COUNCIL, HE TOLD THEM THAT THEY WOULD BE ABLE TO BUY ME IN, AND HE WOULD GO DOWN AND GET ME AND DRING ME

BACK BEFORE THEM, AND THEY WOULD GO DOWN AND GET ME AND BRING ME HACK BEFORE THEM, AND THEY COULDJUST BUY ME IN, AND THAT WOULD STOP THE WHOLE THING. WELL, HE CAME DOWN AND TOLD ME, HE SAID, "LELL, THE CITIZENS" COUNCIL WANTS YOU BACK BEFORE THE COMMITTEE. " | SAID. "FOR WHAT?" HE SAID, "WELL, THEY'LL TELL YOU." SO I GOT IN THE CAR WITH HIM AND WE WENT ON BACK. WE GOT BACK UP THERE, THEY SAT DOWN AND OUTLINED, AND TOLD ME WHAT THEY WANTED TO DO, THEY SAID, "NOW, YOU WANT TO MAKE SOME MONEY?" AND SAID, "YOU...YOU JUST DROP THE NA CP, YOU GO UP THERE AND TAKE YOUR NAME OFF IN GOOD FAITH AND IF YOU TAKE YOUR NAME OFF, THE REST OF THE NIGRAS WILL TAKE THEIR NAME OFF. I SAID ... AND SAID, "IF YOU DO THAT, WE WILL ASSURE YOU YOU WILL GET ALL THE MONEY YOU WANT. " I SAID, " JELL, I DON'T WANT IT. I SAID, "IF THAT'S THE WAY I'VE GOT TO GET IT," I SAID, TO TELL ME THAT YOU WOULD REFUSE MONEY?" AND I SAY, " REFUSE MONEY. 13M NOT GOING TO SELL MY RIGHTS OUT FOR MONEY." SO AFTER THEY COULDN'T GET ME TO DO IT THEY "NELL, ALL RIGHT, THEN, WE GOING TO CLOSE YOU OUT." I SAID, "WELL, CLOSE ME OUT." SO THE NEXT DAY THE SAME REPRESENTATIVE CAME DOWN, THIS WAS JUST THREE MONTHS ... THREE DAYS BEFORE | WAS TO PAY MY RENT, HE SAYS, "WELL," HE SAYS, "YOU STILL HOLDING OUT." I SAYS "I'M STILL HOLDING OUT." HE S.YS, "WELL, THE CITIZENS" COUNCIL SAYS THAT IF YOU DON'T GO UP AND TAKE YOUR NAME OFF THE REGISTRATION BOOK, THEY RE GOING TO CLOSE YOU OUT, YOU'RE GOING TO HAVE TO GET OUT OF THIS STORE. THAT MADE ME ANGRY, YOU KNOW, AND I SPOKE A LITTLE TOO FAST | RECKON, BUT | OPENED THE DOOR AND GOT OUT OF THE CAR, AND TOLD HIM, I SAYS, "YOU GO DACK AND TELL THE CITIZENS COUNCIL TO GO TO HELL!"

RICHTER:

THE TALE THUS FAR GIVES US A PORTRAYAL OF UNMISTAKABLE INTIMIDATION, AND ONE NEGRO'S COURAGE IN FACING UP TO IT. BUT THE TALE ISN'T QUITE OVER. LET ME SUMMARIZE HOW IT CONTINUES. ONE OF THE OTHER LEADERS IN THE EFFORT TO GET THE NEGROES TO VOTE IN THIS MISSISSIPP! COUNTY WAS A REVEREND LEE WHO GOT A THREATENING NOTE ABOUT HIS ACTIVITY AND WAS SUBSEQUENTLY KILLED. MR. COURTS WAS TOLD THAT HE WOULD BE "NEXT". AS THE CITIZENS COUNCIL HAD THREATENED, WR. COURTS LOST HIS STORE. HE WAS TOLD THAT THE STORE WOULD HAVE TO BE USED FOR OTHER PURPOSES THAN THOSE FOR WHICH HE WAS USING IT. WR. COURTS MADE THE POINT THAT UP UNTIL THIS TIME HE HAD HAD GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE MAN FROM WHOM HE WAS LEASING THE STORE, BUT THERE WAS NOTHING FOR IT HE HAD TO FIND ANOTHER BUILDING, WHICH HE DID. ACCORDING TO HIS STORY, THEN, "THEY FIXED IT WITH THE WHOLESALE HOUSES THAT I COULDN'T BUY ANYTHING, THAT..... | COULDN'T BUY ANYTHING FROM THE WHOLESALERS I HAD BEEN BUYING FROM. I WAS SITTING UP THERE IN THE

STORE WITH THE SHELVES EMPTY. " LET US LEAVE OUT OTHER EVENTS, AND SIMPLY SAY THAT ACCORDING TO WR. COURTS' STATEMENT HE WAS SHOT AND BADLY WOUNDED. BUT LET'S HEAR THE VERY END OF THIS STORY.

NOW, MR. COURTS, HOW MANY NEGROES DID YOU SAY THERE MIN: WERE IN THE COUNTY WHERE YOU LIVED IN BELLZON1?

COURTS: 17.)00.

HOW MANY PAID THEIR POLL TAXES? M : N: M

COURTS: 400.

MIN. HOW MANY REGISTERED?

COURTS: 94.

AND HOW MANY ARE NOW REGISTERED? MAN:

COURTS: ONE.

W.N. AND WHO'S THAT?

CCURTS: NIE .

SCHNEIDER: WE SHOULDN'T ALTOGETHER LET OURSELVES BE INTRIGUED OR EVEN DISTRACTED BY THE STORY OF MR. COURTS' PERSONAL COURAGE. THERE IS ALSO THE PRETTY CLEAR FACT THAT OTHER NEGROES IN THIS COMMUNITY WERE RATHER EFFECTIVELY INTIMIDATED.

WELL, OF COURSE, THIS WAS AN EXAMPLE OF WHAT HAPPENED RICHTER: IN ONE PLACE IN THE SOUTH. IT DOES NOT HAPPEN <u>UNIVERS</u>ALLY IN THE SOUTH, BUT IT, AND APPROXIMATIONS TO IT, OCCUR WITH SUFFICIENT FREQUENCY THAT WE ARE, IF | MAY BE IRONIC, GIVEN FOOD FOR THOUGHT. NOW LET US TURN TO INTIMIDATION IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION. HERE, SURELY, THE STORY IS AN ENTIRELY FAMILIAR ONE. BUT THE CON-CRETE DETAIL CAN STILL BE BROUGHT HOME TO US WITH POWERFUL EFFECT. HERE IS A SMALL ITEM PICKED OUT OF THE BIG TALE OF LITTLE ROCK, WHICH WE TAKE FROM THE LITTLE ROCK, WHICH WE TAKE FROM THE LITTLE VOLUME, TENDER MARRIORS, DONE BY DOROTHY STERLING WITH THE AID OF DONALD GROSS.

"IN LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS, ELIZABITH ECKFORD, A SLENDER 15 YEAR OLD, WALKED ACROSS THE GRASS TO THE ENTRANCE OF CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL. ARMED NATIONAL GUARDSMEN BARRED HER WAY. "ORDERS OF THE GOVERNOR," THEY GRUFFLY TOLD HER.

> TURNING FROM THE GUARDSMEN, SHE FACED A YELLING, JEERING CROWD. MEN AND WOMEN HOWLED, "DON'T LET HER IN." TEENAGERS SCREAMED, "GC BACK WHERE YOU CAME FROM.

WOWAN:

FOR TWO LONG BLOCKS IN FRONT OF THE SCHOOL THE MOD PURSUED HER. OF LAST, FRIGHTENED AND FORLORN SHE SAT DOWN ON A BENCH TO WAIT FOR A BUS TO TAKE HER HOME.

RICHTER:

AGAIN, FROM THE SAME SOURCE, DAVID J. BRITTAIN, JR., PRINCIPAL OF CLINTON HIGH SCHOOL IN CLINTON, TENNESSEE IS QUOTED AS SAYING THE FOLLOWING IN THE COURSE OF CLINTON'S INTEGRATION ENDEAVOR.

MIN:

"IT LOOKS QUIET, BUT IT'S JUST LIKE SITTING ON A POWDER KEG. AS FAR AS ITS DEING AN INTEGRATED SITUATION, IT'S NOT AN INTEGRATED SITUATION. WHEN THE NEGRO KIDS CAME IN, THE OTHERS WERE REAL NICE AND FRIENDLY UNTIL THE WALKING DOWN THE HALL WITH A NEGRO, THEY CALLED HIM "NIGGER LOVER."

Now the Negro kids don't dare be a part of school life. They're the most humble kids we got in school, because they know they've got to be. If we hadn't had any trouble, some of them would have been accepted and others not, just like with all students. But the way it is now, noddy even talks to them.

THAT WHITE YOUTH COUNCIL WAS THE MOST DAMNABLE THING IT THIS WHOLE DUSINESS. THEY TOOK THOSE YOUNG KIDS, NINTH GRADE LEVEL, GAVE THEM AND TOLD THEM TO JUMP THE NEGRO KIDS. He'VE HAD MORE JUVENILE DELINQUENCY THIS YEAR THAN IN THE WHOLE HISTORY OF THE COMMUNITY."

RICHTER:

WE COULD GO ON INDEFINITELY DOCUMENTING AND ILLUSTRATING INTIMIDATION IN THE POLITICAL SPHERE, IN THE EDUCATIONAL SPHERE, IN HOUSING, AND ELSEWHERE. BUT AS A KIND OF CONCLUSION TO OUR ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL WE WOULD LIKE TO HEAR DR. CLARENCE JORDAN, WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE FOUNDING OF A LITTLE KNOWN RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY IN MERICUS, GEORGIA. A COMMUNITY CALLED KOINGNIA FARM, WHICH WAS STARTED IN 1942, AND WHICH ULTIMATELY BACAME IN INTERDENOMINATIONAL, INTERRACIAL SETTLEMENT, BASED ON DR. JORDAN'S INTERPRETATION OF CHRISTIAN PRINCIPLES AND ADHERING TO OMNERSHIP IN COMMON. THE FOLLOWING IS A SMALL PORTION OF THE STORY WE ELICITED FROM DR. JORDAN IN THE SUMMER OF 1958.

JORDAN:

BUT BECAUSE WE DID, IN A SENSE, HOLD ALL THINGS COMMON AS THE EARLY CHURCH DID, WE WERE IMMEDIATELY ACCUSED OF BEING COMMUNISTS. AND FOR PEOPLE WHO COULD NOT DISTINGUISH BETWEEN THE TEACHINGS OF KARL MARX AND THE TEACHINGS OF JESUS CHRIST, WE WERE ONE IN THE SAME. AND WE HAD A LOT OF BITTER OPPOSITION BECAUSE OF THAT BUT NEVER DID THE OPPOSITION DUE TO OUR NON-PARTICIPATION IN WAR AND OUR COMMON OWNERSHIP, NEVER DID THAT OPPOSITION BREAK OUT INTO VIOLENCE LIKE THE OPPOSITION FROM, ON THE RACE VIEWPOINT HAS.

RICHTER: This opposition is of relatively recent origin?

JORD N:

YES, WELL, ALL ALONG THERE WAS A LITTLE BIT BUT NOTHING NEARLY AS SEVERE AS IT HAS BEEN DURING THE PAST TWO YEARS. I MIGHT GO ON AND SAY THAT AFTER THE MORE OR LESS, AFTER THE COMMUNIST SCARE SUBSIDED, THEN CAME THE SUPREME COURT DECISION RULING AGAINST SEGREGATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS. WELL, A YEAR LATER THE WHITE CITIZENS COUNCILS WERE FORMED ALL OVER THE SOUTH AS A RESISTANCE MOVE TO THAT DECISION. AND QUITE NATURALLY, KOINONIA CAME IN FOR ITS SHARE OF ATTACK AND IN, IN THE SPRING OF 1956, THE OPPOSITION DECAME SO SEVERE THAT IT ERUPTED INTO THE VIOLENCE OF WHICH WE'VE BEEN SPEAKING.

RICHTER:

WHAT ABOUT THE CHILDREN? I NOTICE THERE ARE MANY CHILDREN HERE ON KOINONIA FARM. HAS THE SITUATION HERE AFFECTED THEM IN ANY WAY?

JORDAN:

YES, IT HAS QUITE NATURALLY...IT HAS AFFECTED THEM. THEY HAVE BEEN SHOT AT ON ONE NIGHT WHILE THEY WERE OUT PLAYING. TWO CARS CAME DOWN THE RAD AND 12 BLASTS OF SHOTGUN PELLETS WERE DIRECTED TOWARD THE COMMUNITY AND MANY OF THEM FELL ON THE CHILDREN; WELL, QUITE NATURALLY THAT FRIGHTENED THEM. AND THEN AT SCHOOL THE HAVE BEEN CALLED ALL KINDS OF NAMES, AND HAVE SUFFERED ACTUAL PHYSICAL VIOLENCE WHILE THERE AND IT BECAME NECESSARY FOR US TO TAKE OUT OF SCHOOL THE CHILDREN TH WERE IN HIGH SCHOOL AND TO SEND THEM AWAY. FOR THE PATWO YEARS WE HAVE DONE THAT, BUT NOW, WE WANT TO MAKE ANOTHER ATTEMPT TO SEND OUR CHILDREN TO THE LOCAL SCHOOLS. AND WE'RE PLANNING TO DO THAT THIS FALL.

RICHTER:

TIME, UNFORTUNATELY, MAKES IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR US TO PRESENT MORE ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL. OUR OBJECT TODAY, AS WE'VE INDICATED, HAS BEEN TO BRING HOME THE CONCRETVIVID, HUMAN MEANING OF INTIMIDATION. IF WE HAVE SUCCEEDED AT ALL IN DOING THIS, THE POINT OF THESE SEVERAL STORIES HAS SURELY BEEN MADE. IS THERE ANY OVERALL COMMENT YOU'D LIKE TO ADD, LOU?

SCHNEIDER:

ONLY A FEW NECESSARILY RATHER GENERAL THINGS. INTIMIDATION IS, TO BE SURE, A DASIC WEAPON AGAINST THE
NEGRO. IN A WAY IT'S AN ULTIMATE WEAPON. WHEN ALL EL
FAILS, VIOLENCE, OR THE THREAT THEREOF, CAN BE CALLED
INTO PLAY. IT'S PRETTY CLEAR, ALSO, THAT INTIMIDATION
FREQUENTLY HAS TO SPREAD ITSELF. THAT IS, IN ORDER TO
BE REALLY EFFECTIVE IT MUST OFTEN BE APPLIED TO WHITES
AS WELL AS NEGROES. THE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION CRISES,
TO CITE JUST ONE GERMANE THING, HAVE ILLUSTRATED THIS
VERY NEATLY. I MIGHT ALSO COMMENT THAT THE USE OF
INTIMIDATION TENDS TO REAFFIRM AND RE-ENFORCE THE
HISTORIC TENDENCY, MORE PARTICULARLY MARKED IN THE
SOUTH, TO EMPLOY VIOLENCE, TO OVERRIDE THE LAW, AND TO
REDUCE RESPECT FOR THE LAW. POINT WE MIGHT KEEP IN

MIND ABOVE ALL IS A VERY SIMPLE ONE: NAMELY, THAT WHETHER DELIBERATELY USED WITH THIS OBJECT IN MIND OR NOT. INTIMIDATION WORKS TOWARD THE RESULT OF PRESERVING THE SUBORDINATION OF THE NEGRO ECONOMICALLY, AND POLI-TICALLY, AND OTHERWISE MR. COURTS IS EVIDENTLY ONE OF NUMEROUS NEGROES WHO ARE ENTIRELY CLEAR ON THIS VITAL POINT. INEVITABLY, THE NEGRO'S ATTITUDE TOWARD INTI-MIDATION IS INFLUENCED BY KNOWING THAT THIS IS THE RESULT TOWARD WHICH IT DOES WORK. THE HOPE OF SUCCESS OF INTIMIDATION ULTIMATELY WOULD REST ON A WILLINGNESS TO EMPLOY A REALLY MASSIVE REPRESSION OF THE NEGRO. I WOULD GUESS THAT THIS WILL NOT COME ABOUT IN THE UNITED STATES UNDER ANY IMMEDIATELY FORESEEABLE CONDITIONS. BUT, THIS DOESN'T MEAN THAT INTIMIDATION WILL NOT CONTINUE TO HAVE, FOR SOME CONSIDERABLE TIME, ITS DAY TO DAY, AND SOMETIMES RATHER SIZEABLE, SUCCESSES.

RICHTER:

NEXT WEEK WE TAKE UP THE TOPIC OF NEGRO PROTEST, ITS HISTORY, THE CHANGES IN THE FORMS IT HAS TAKEN AND ITS CURRENT MANIFESTATIONS. JOIN US THEN NEXT WEEK AS WE CONTINUE TO EXPLORE THE WORLD OF "THE LAST CITIZEN".

MUSIC: THEME UP IND UNDER

.NNCR:

YOU HAVE BEEN LISTENING TO DR. LOUIS SCHNEIDER, PROFESSO OF SOCIOLOGY AT PURDUE UNIVERSITY, AND THE PRODUCER-DIRECTOR OF THIS SERIES, E. V. RICHTER, AS THEY'VE DISCUSSED THE LAST CITIZEN. THIS PROGRAM WAS PRODUCED AND RECORDED BY RADIO STATION NBAA, PURDUE UNIVERSITY, UNDER A GRANT FROM THE EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION AND RADIC CENTER, AND IS DEING DISTRIBUTED BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCITION OF EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTERS.

MUSIC: THEME UP TO FINISH

ANNICR:

THIS IS THE NAEJ RADIO NETWORK.

THE L.ST CITIZEN

PROGRAM 16

HUGHES:

(GLORY OF NEGRO HISTORY) IN 1831 ANOTHER GREAT SLAVE REBELLION BROKE OUT IN VIRGINIA, LED BY NAT TURNER. IN THIS ONE SOME SIXTY SLAVE OWNERS WERE KILLED. MORE THAN A HUNDRED NEGROES LOST THEIR LIVES BEFORE THIS UPRISING WAS SUPPRESSED. SEVENTEEN SLAVES WERE PUT TO TRIAL AND HANGED.

MUSIC:

STINGER

NNCR:

THIS EXCERPT FROM LANGSTON HUGHES RECORDING THE THE GLORY OF NEGRO HISTORY SETS THE SCENE FOR TODAY'S DISCUSSION OF "THE LAST CITIZEN"--PROTEST.

MUSIC:

STINGER

NNCR .

THE LAST CITIZEN: THE NEGRO IN AMERICA. A SERIES OF PROGRAMS DEVOTED TO THE EXTENSION OF OUR KNOWLEDGE OF THE LARGEST MINORITY GROUP IN THE UNITED STATES, ITS PROBLEMS, AND THE PROBLEMS IT POSES TO ALL AMERICANS. THE LAST CITIZEN IS PRODUCED BY RADIO STATION ABOVE, PURDUE UNIVERSITY, UNER A GRANT FROM THE EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION AND RADIO CENTER, IN COOPERATION WITH THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTERS. THE DISCUSSANTS ARE THE PRODUCER OF THE SERIES, E. W. RICHTER, AND DR. LOUIS SCHNEIDER, PROFESSOR OF SCCIOLOGY AT PURDUE UNIVERSITY. TODAY'S PROGRAM: PROTEST. HERE NOW, IS WIR. RICHTER.

RICHTER:

JE HAVE BEEN CONCERNED WITH NOW THE NEGRO HAS REACTED TO AND COPED WITH THE VARIOUS LIMITATIONS AND DISCRIMING ATIONS THAT HAVE BEEN IMPOSED ON HIM IN AMERICAN LIFE. E HAVE NOT, HOWEVER, AS YET FACED UP SPECIFICALLY TO THE QUESTION OF HOW THE NEGRO HAS STRIVEN TO IMPROVE HIS LOT. AND THE MOMENT ONE BEGINS TO THINK OF THIS, TWO THINGS MUST COME TO MIND: THE NEGRO'S PROTEST, AND THE NEGRO'S DEFENSE. JEFENSE WOULD ENCOMPASS THE WORK OF SUCH ORGANIZATIONS AS THE NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE COMMISSIONS AGAINST DISCRIMINATION, AND SO FORTH. "E SHALL BE DEALING WITH THESE NEXT WEEK. FOR THIS WEEK WE WANT TO TREAT THE MATTER OF THE NEGRO PROTEST. PROTEST HAS TAKEN VARIOUS FORMS HISTORICALLY. BUT AS SOON AS WE BECOME, SO TO PUT IT, HISTORY-MINDED IN REGARD TO PROTEST, WE MUST INEVITABLY THINK OF THE EARLY NEGRO SLAVE REVOLTS.

SCHNEIDER:

ONE GATHERS FROM THE ACCOUNTS OF THE HISTORIANS THAT IN THE PASSAGE FROM OFFICA TO THE NEW WORLD THE DANGE? OF REVOLT IN THE COURSE OF THE VOYAGE WAS A VERY REAL ONE. ACCORDING TO ONE WELL KNOWN HISTORIAN, "THE NEGRO MEN WERE USUALLY KEPT SHACKLED FOR THE FIRST PART OF THE PASSAGE UNTIL THE CHANCES OF MUTINY AND RETURN

TO AFRICA DWINDLED AND THE CAPTAIN'S FEARS GAVE PLACE TO CONFIDENCE." ACCORDING TO MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS, AN ANTHROPOLOGIST WHO HAS DEVOTED MUCH RESEARCH TO THE NEGRO AND HIS BACKGROUNDS, "IT IS NOT GENERALLY KNOWN HOW EARLY IN THE HISTORY OF NEGRO SLAVING REVOLTS DID occur. The Negro slave trade began with shipments of SLAVES TO HAIT! IN 1510; THE FIRST SLAVE UPRISING IN HAITI, IN 1522, THUS TOOK PLACE ONLY 12 YEARS AFTER THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE TRAFFIC. IN THE NEW VORLD POSSES-SIONS OF SPAIN, ELEVEN OTHER REBELLIONS ARE RECORDED DETWEEN THE YEARS 1522 AND 1553, OF WHICH THOSE OF 1533, 1537, AND 1548 OCCURRED IN SANTO DOMINGO. DURING THE FOLLOWING CENTURY TWO REVOLTS TOOK PLACE AT HAITI. ONE AT PORT-DE-PAIX IN 1679, AND ANOTHER IN 1691. THIS INDICATES THE MEREST BEGINNING OF REVOLTS OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES. THE HISTORY OF THE VEST INDIES IS RICH, IF RICH IS THE RIGHT WORD, WITH REVOLTS. TOUSSAID L'OUVERTURE, AND THE NEGRO REVOLUTION IN HAITI WERE WELL REMEMBERED IN THE SOUTH FOR DECADES AFTER TOUSSAINT WAS DEAD. WITHIN THE UNITED STATES SLAVE REVOLTS WERE ALSO PLENTIFUL. WE GET REPORT AFTER REPORT ON SUCH LINES AS THESE: "THE CONSTANT FEAR OF SLAVE REBELLION MADE LIFE IN THE SOUTH A NIGHTMARE; " AGAIN, "FRESH IN (THE MEMORY OF SOUTHERNERS) WERE THE HORRORS OF THE NEGRO REVOLUTION IN HAITI: " ONCE MORE "THE TENDENCY TO REVOLT WAS UNREM-ITTANT, COVERING ALL THE SOUTHERN STATES, AND (THE) NORTHERN ONES AS WELL DURING THE PERIOD THEY SANCTIONED SLAVERY. THE THAT MOST OF THE REVOLTS WERE SMALL-SCALE, BUT THEY WERE PRETTY CHRONIC THINGS. APPARENTLY, AND THEIR CHRONICITY AND SHEER PERSISTENCE UNTIL THE TIME OF THE CIVIL JAR, EVIDENTLY OCCASIONED MORE THAN A LITTLE FEAR AMONG SOUTHERNERS....STARTED RUMORS.....WILD RUMORS AMONG THEM, AND AT TIMES SEEM TO HAVE BROUGHT ABOUT SOMETHING LIKE PANIC. I MIGHT ADD THAT THE REVOLTS OF GABRIEL, OR GABRIEL PROSSER AS HE'S CALLED WHEN NAMED AFTER HIS MASTER, IN VIRGINIA IN 1800; OF DENMARK VESEY IN SOUTH CAROLINA IN 1822, AND OF NAT TURNER, AGAIN IN VIRGINIA IN 1831, ARE THE ONES MOST FREQUENTLY REFERRED TO IN THE LITERATURE OF SLAVE REVOLTAND IF THESE REVOLTS HAVE OFTEN BEEN REMARKED BY THE HISTORIANS WE MAY BE SURE THAT THEY WERE NEVER FORGOTTEN IN THE SOUTH.

RICHTER:

THE STORY OF THE SLAVE REVOLTS, IF WE COULD TELL IT IN DETAIL, WOULD DE A MOST DRAMATIC THING. HOWEVER, DRAMATIC OR NOT, I TAKE IT THAT THIS WAS NOT THE ONLY FORM OF NEGRO PROTEST?

SCHNEIDER:

No, certainly not. The slave could, of course, malinger he could run away; he could practice sabotage in one or another form. Indeed, when the historians go to work over themes of protest through malingering, absconding, and sabotaging, one is almost prompted to wonder how the slave system could have deen profitable. But our sub-

JECT ISN'T THE PROFITABILITY OF SLAVERY. ALSO, THERE WAS THE FAMOUS PROTEST CONDUCTED BY NEGRO FIGHTERS IN THE NORTHERN ABOLITION MOVEMENT. THERE WERE MANY OF THESE. MONG THE BEST KNOWN NAMES ARE THOSE OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS, SOJOURNER TRUTH, AND HARRIET TURMAN.

RICHTER:

NETHOUGH DOUGLASS. IS RECOGNIZED AS PROBABLY THE EMINENT NEGRO LEADER IN THE PERIOD TO WHICH YOU ARE POINTING, I'D LIKE TO HAVE US CAPTURE, IF WE CAN, SOMETHING OF THE SPIRIT OF ONE OF THE NEGRO ABOLITIONISTS YOU'VE MENTIONED, NAMELY SOJOURNER TRUTH, BY LISTENING TO SOME WORDS ABOUT HER BY LANGSTON HUGHES. IN HER OWN WAY, SOJOURNER TRUTH COULD BE AS ELOQUENT AS THE MORE OUTSTANDING AND MORE VERBALLY AND GRAMMATICALLY IMPRESSIVE FROM THE FOLKWAYS RECORDING OF THE GLORY OF NEGRO: ... HISTORY, WITH THE AUTHOR, LANGSTON HUGHES, NARRATING:

HUGHES:

ONE WHO HAD BEEN A SLAVE, BUT WENT AWAY TO FREEDOM, WAS A WOMAN NAMED ISABELLA. IN NEW YORK CITY SHE HAD A VISION, SO SHE CHANGED HER NAME TO SOJOURNER TRUTH, AND SHE BEGAN TO MAKE SPEECHES ALL OVER THE NORTH AGAINST SLAVERY:

"Now about My Name, THE LORD GAVE ME SOJOURNER, DECAUSE I WAS TO TRIVEL UP AND DOWN THE LAND SHOWIN' THE PEOPLE THEIR SINS AND BEIN' A SIGN UNTO THEM. AFTERWAR I TOLD THE LORD I WANTED ANOTHER NAME, 'CAUSE EVERYBODY ELSE HAD TWO NAMES. AND THE LORD GAVE ME TRUTH, BECAUSE I WAS TO DECLARE THE TRUTH TO THE PEOPLE. I'VE HAD FIVE CHILDREN, AND I'VE SEEN'EM MOST ALL SOLD OFF INTO SLAVERY. AND WHEN I CRY WITH A MOTHER'S GRIEF, NONE BUT JESUS HEARS. SERE THEY BE, I DON'T KNOW---AND MY CHILDREN DON'T KNOW WHERE I BE. BUT I LOOK AT THE STARS, AND THEY LOOK AT THE STARS, AND SOMEHOW I FEELS BETTER. NOW I WALKS THE WORLD LOOKIN' FOR TRUTH. I THINK OF THE GREAT THINGS OF GOD, NOT THE LITTLE THINGS I'S A SOJOURNER LOOKIN' FOR TRUTH.

TRUTH TO HER WAS FREEDOM---NOT JUST FOR HERSELF, BUT FOR ALL.

SCHNEIDER:

PERSONS LIKE THESE ALREADY POINT US FORWARD, AWAY FROM THE VIOLENCE REPRESENTED BY THE OLD NEGRO SLAVE REVOLTS AND TOWARD A NEW KIND OF PROTEST, WHICH APPEALED TO DEMOCRATIC AND RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLES, AND WHICH, IN MANY WAYS CONSTITUTES THE FOUNDATIONS OF PROTEST AS WE ENCOUNTER IT TODAY.

RICHTER: BUT WE AREN'T YET READY TO GO INTO THE PRESENT-DAY PROTEST. AT THE LEAST, I THINK WE SHOULD PAY SOME ATTENTION TO MARCUS GARVEY AND HIS "UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION."

SCHNEIDER:

AGREE. JE SHOULD PAY SOME ATTENTION TO GARVEY. HIS IS CERTAINLY A SIGNIFICANT STORY. LET ME DRAW ON CRONON'S STUDY ENTITLED, BLACK MOSES, WHICH GIVES THE STORY OF GARVEY AND HIS ASSOCIATION. THE STORY IS SIGNIFICANT PARTLY BECAUSE GARVEY'S PROTEST INVOLVE.S A RADICAL REJECTION OF THE WHITE WORLD AND A PROGRAM OF EXTREME NEGRO NATIONALISM OF RACIALISM. THIS IS NO LONGER THE FORM OF PROTEST OF THE NEGRO LEADERSHIP TODA BY ANY MEANS, AND GARVEY IS. IN A SENSE, A TREMENDOUS CONTRAST-FIGURE. HE WAS BORN IN JAMAICA IN 1887. EVIDENTLY OF UNMIXED NEGRO STOCK. HE WAS NOT WELL EDUCATED, BUT ALWAYS YEARNED TO BE CONSIDERED AN EDUCAT PERSON, AND THE EQUAL OF HIS, DR. DUJOIS. HE APPARENTL BECAME ACUTELY CONSCIOUS OF THE EXISTENCE OF RACE PREJUDICE IN HIS NATIVE JAMAICA IN HIS EARLY TEENS. HE ALSO DEVELOPED AN ANTIPATHY AND DISTRUST TOWARD MIXED-BLOODS OR LIGHTER SKINNED NEGROES. IN ENGLAND, SHORTLY BEFORE THE JORLD JAR, HE ABSORBED FROM CERTAIN ASSOCI-ATES A GOOD BIT OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM; AND ALSO DEVE-LOPED, OR INTENSIFIED, ASPIRATIONS TO BE A RACE LEADER. IN THE SUMMER OF 1914, GOING HOME TO JAMAICA, GARVEY W ALREADY FILLED WITH THE NOTION OF "UNITING ALL THE NEGRO PEOPLES OF THE WORLD INTO ONE GREAT BODY, TO ESTABLISH A COUNTRY AND GOVERNMENT ABSOLUTELY THEIR OWN. THE HAD A VISION OF "A NEW WORLD OF BLACK MEN. NOT PEONS, SERFS, DOGS, AND SLAVES, BUT A NATION OF STURDY MEN, MAKING THEIR IMPRESS ON CIVILIZATION, AND CAUSING A NEW LIGHT TO DAWN UPON THE HUMAN RACE.

RICHTER:

DIDN'T GARVEY FOUND HIS UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT

SCHNEIDER:

YES HE DID AND ONCE HE HAD GOTTEN IT STARTED THERE HE PROCEEDED TO HARLEM, IN NEW YORK, EARLY IN 1916, TO OFFER HIS PROGRAM OF RACE IMPROVEMENT TO MMERICAN NEGROES. GARVEY MADE HIS MOST POWERFUL APPEAL, AND GOT HIS GREATEST SUPPORT FROM THE MASS OF POORLY EDUCATED NEGROES WHO HAD MIGRATED FROM THE SOUTH DURING THE WAR BOOM. AND WHO WERE FINDING CERTAIN DISAPPOINTMENTS IN THE SHAPE OF THE POST-WAR WORLD. IT SHOULD BE RECALLED, ALSO, THAT EXISTING NEGRO IMPROVEMENT GROUPS HAD GIVEN LITTLE ATTENTION TO LOWER CLASS NEGROES. ONE MAY SAY THAT THE BLACK MASSES WERE READY FOR A MOSES. IN 1919 AND 1920, GARVEY'S ORGANIZATION GREW RAPIDLY, ALTHOUGH IT PROBABLY NEVER GREW AS RAPIDLY AS HE CLAIMED. YOU'VE MENTIONED GAR VEY'S NATIONALISM, AND THE APPEAL IT HELD FOR LOWER-CLASS AMERICAN NEGROES. HOULD YOU LIKE TO GO INTO A BIT MORE DETAIL ON THIS?

SCHNEIDER:

It's worth recalling how strongly affirmative of the goodness of things "Black" Garvey was. This was an emotionally powerful element in his teaching and personality: This willingness to invert, conventional

AMERICAN COLOR VALUES, AND ASSERT UNEQUIVOCALLY A KIND OF EQUATION OF BLACKNESS AND GOODNESS. AS YOU KNOW, ALSO, GARVEY SOUGHT TO WORK OUT A "BACK TO SERICA" MOVEMENT, WHICH LOOKED ORIGINALLY AS IF IT WOULD GET WARM SUPPORT FROM THE LIBERIAN GOVERNMENT. I MUST MAKE SHORT AND SIMPLE A LONG AND INVOLVED STORY AND SAY THAT LIBERIA FINALLY WITHDREW EVERY KIND OF SUPPORT FROM GARVEYISM. GARVEY DENOUNCED LIBERIAN OFFICIALS, WHOTHE THOUGHT HAD FAILED HIM, AS "RACE-TRAITORS," AND CONCENTRATED MUCH HATRED UPON DUBODS, WHO 1M HIS MIND EVIDENTLY HAD BECOME THE MASTER VILLAIN RESPONSIBLE FOR FAILURES IN AMERICA AND AFRICA, AND WHOM GARVEY CALLED, "PURELY AND SIMPLY A WHITE MAN'S NIGGER."

RICHTER:

I UNDERSTAND THAT THESE YEARS OF THE MID 1920'S BEGIN T SEE THE DECLINE OF GARVEY'S MOVEMENT.

SCHNEIDER:

YES, HE WAS SENT TO THE ATLANTA PENITENTIARY IN 1925 FOR FIVE YEARS AFTER AN APPEAL OF MAIL-FRAUD CONVICTION MAS REJECTED. HE WAS PERDONED IN 1927, AND DEPORTED TO JAMAICA. HE STARTED TO REBUILD THE UNIA, THE UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION, IN JAMAICA AND HAD SOMETHING LIKE A BRIEF RENEWAL OF FAME AT THE END OF THE 20'S. CERTAINLY THE 30'S INAUGURATED A PERIOD OF OBSCUITY FOR HIM. THE DEPRESSION GENERATION EVIDENTLY HAD LITTLE INTEREST IN GARVEY'S AMBITIOUS BCHEMES FOR NEGRO SALVATION. HE DIED IN LONDON IN 1940.

RICHTER:

You've repeatedly said that Garvey and his movement were significant in the whole picture of Negro protest, Jould you perhaps outline this significance as you see it?

SCHNEIDER:

I THINK THE MOVEMENT SHOWED THE SHEER EAGERNESS OF THE BLACK MASSES TO ACQUIRE A FEELING OF PRIDE, SOME KIND OF CONSIDERABLE SELF-RESPECT. CERTAINLY GARVEY SPOKE AS IF HE WERE MAKING A TREMENDOUS ANSWER TO SUCH AN APPEAL. CONSIDER THIS, WHICH I FIND QUOTED FROM A VOLUME EDITED BY AMY J. GARVEY, ENTITLED THE PHILOSOPHY AND OPINIONS OF MARCUS GARVEY:

MAN 1:

BUT WHEN WE COME TO CONSIDER THE HISTORY OF MAN, WAS NOT THE NEGRO A POWER, WAS HE NOT GREAT ONCE? YES, HONEST STUDENTS OF HISTORY CAN RECALL THE DAY WHEN EGYPT, ETHIOPIAAND TIMBUCTOO TOWERED IN THEIR CIVILIZATIONS, TOWERED ABOVE EUROPE, TOWERED ABOVE ASIA. WHEN EUROPE WAS INHABITED BY A RACE OF CANNIBALS, A RACE OF SAVAGES, NAKED MAN, HEATHENS AND PAGANS, AFRICA WAS PEOPLED WITH A RACE OF CULTURED BLACK MEN WHO WERE MASTERS IN ART, SCIENCE, AND LITERATURE; MEN WHO WERE CULTURED AND REFINED; MEN, WHO, IT WAS SAID, WERE LIKE THE GODS. EVEN THE GREAT POETS OF OLD SANG IN BEAUTIFUL SONNETS OF THE DELIGHT IT AFFORDED THE GODS TO BE

IN COMPANIONSHIP WITH THE ETHIOPIANS. *HY, THEN, SHOULD WE LOSE HOPE? BLACK MEN, YOU WERE ONCE GREAT; YOU SHALL BE GREAT AGAIN. LOSE NOT COURAGE, LOSE NOT FAITH, GO FORWARD. THE THING TO DO IS TO GET ORGANIZED KEEP SEPARATED AND YOU WILL BE EXPLOITED, YOU WILL BE ROBUED, YOU WILL BE KILLED. GET ORGANIZED AND YOU WILL COMPEL THE WORLD TO RESPECT YOU. IF THE WORLD FAILS TO GIVE YOU CONSIDERATION BECAUSE, YOU ARE BLACK MEN, BECAUSE YOU ARE NEGROES, 400MILLIONS OF YOU SHALL, THROUGH ORGANIZATION, SHAKE THE PILLARS OF THE UNIVERSE AND BRING DOWN DREATION, EVEN AS SAMSON BROUGHT DOWN THE TEMPLE ON HIS HEAD, AND UPON THE HEADS OF THE PHILLETS STINES.

SCHNEIDER:

AND AGAIN GARVEY DECLAIMS: "WAKD UP ETHIOPIA! WAKE UP FRICA! LET US WORK TOWARD THE ONE GLORIOUS END OF A FREE REDEEMED AND MIGHTY NATION. LET AFRICA BE A BRIGH STAR AMONG THE CONSTELLATION OF NATIONS." Thus is Garvey eloquent, not to say flamboyant, on the SUBJECT OF THE AFRICAN BACKGROUND AND THE NEGRO'S PROSPECTS. HISTORICALLY, I THINK THIS EFFORT TO INSPIR PRIDE OF RACE AND BACKGROUND IS MOST SIGNIFICANT. HOW-EVER THE METHODS OF NEGRO LEADERS TODAY MAY DIFFER, AND HOWEVER DIFFERENT THE TURNS THEIR ELOQUENCE MAY TAKE, MANY OF THESE LEADERS UNDOUBTEDLY STILL WISH TO INSTILL PRIDE AND MAGNIFY SELF-RESPECT IN THE NEGRO PEOPLE. IN BRIEF, I WOULD SAY THAT THE GARVEYITE MOVEMENT GETS SOM OF ITS SIGNIFICANCE FROM THIS: IT HELPED, THROUGH ITS GAUDY FAILURES, TO MAKE NEGROES SUSPICIOUS OF BLACK CHAUVINISM. IT PROMPTED A RE-THINKING OF THE FEASI-BILITY OF VARIOUS KINDS OF NEGRO ASPIRATIONS. IT STIMULATED CONTRAST CONCEPTIONS AMONG MANY WHO DREW FROM GARVEY'S ACTIVITY THE LESSON THAT MAJOR HOPE FOR NEGRO ASPIRATIONS LAY NOT IN THE AGGRESSIVE REPUDIATION OF THE WHITE MAN AND THINGS WHITE, BUT RATHER IN FORTH-RIGHT APPEALS TO THE WHITE MAN BASED ON THE WHITE MAN'S OWN, AT LEAST PARTIAL, ADHERENCE TO DEMOCRATIC OUTLOOKS AND CHRISTIAN PRINCIPLES.

RICHTER:

You've indicated Garvey's opposition to DuBois. And we've encountered DuBois's name before as an opponent of Booker T. Washington.

SCHNEIDER:

DUBOIS HAS LOOMED LARGE ON THE AMERICAN SCENE AS A NEGRO LEADER. IN THE CONTEXT OF PROTEST, WE MIGHT MENTION HIS PART IN THE NIAGARA MOVEMENT WHICH MERGED WITH THE NACC. THE NIAGARA MOVEMENT WAS LAUNCHED FIFTY ODD YEARS AGO WHEN A NUMBER OF NEGRO INTELLECTUAL MET AT NIAGARA FALLS. THEY HOPED TO ESTADLISH A NATION PROTEST ORGANIZATION. BOOKER T. WASHINGTON OPPOSED THE MOVEMENT AND CALLED FORTH DUBOIS'S STRONG CRITICISM UNDER THE IMPACT OF SUCH CRITICISM WASHINGTON, TOO, MOVED TOWARD MORE OF AN AGGRESSIVE, FORTHRIGHT, PROTEST POSITION. AND HERE, ALSO, WE'D BETTER OMIT NUMEROUS

DETAILS, EXCEPT TO ADD THAT BY 1909, OR 1910, THE NIAGARA MOVEMENT WAS NO LONGER REALLY EFFECTIVE, AND THE NIACP, WITH WHICH IT MERGED, HAD GOTTEN STARTED.

RICHTER:

WE COME THEN TO THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, UNDOUBTEDLY THE MOST IMPORTANT CONTEMPORARY ORGAN OF NEGRO PROTEST. WE CAN'T HOPE TO GIVE A FULL STORY ON THIS, EITHER. BUT I'D LIKE TO HAVE US UNDERSTAND SOME SIGNIFICANT FEATURE OF THIS MAJOR ORGANIZATION. AND TO DO THIS WE'LL LISTEN TO THE SUBSTANCE OF AN INTERVIEW WE HAD WITH ROY FILKINS, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE NEACP.

ILKINS:

WELL, THE ASSOCIATION, OF COURSE, WAS FORMED IN 1909 FOR THE PURPOSE OF GETTING RID OF DISCRIMINATION AND SEGREGATION BETWEEN UNITED STATES CITIZENS ON THE BASIS OF RACE AND COLOR. THAT WAS ITS BASIC FORMULAT-ING PRINCIPLE. FIFTY ODD PERSONS GATHERED IN RESPONSE TO A CALL FROM OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD AND STATED THIS PRETTY WELL IN THE CALL THAT THEY ISSUED TO THE REST OF THE COUNTRY TO JOIN THEM IN THIS NEW ORGANIZATION. IT WAS SPARKED, OF COURSE, BY THE RACE RIOTS WHICH HAD BEEN HELD IN SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS, IN 1908, WHICH SHOCKED THE COUNTRY A GREAT DEAL AND THE, AS MOST PEOPLE KNOW, THE FIRST TWENTY-ODD YEARS OF THE ASSOCIA-TION WERE DEVOTED ALMOST SINGLE-HANDEDLY TO THE FIGHT AGAINST LYNCHING--RACIAL VIOLENCE--AND IT WAS NOT UNTIL THE MIDDLE THIRTIES THAT LYNCHING BEGAN TO DECLINE, NOTICEABLY, UNDER THE HAMMERING OF THE FIRST TWENTY, TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF THE ASSOCIATION'S WORK. FIRST I LIKE TO THINK THE NA CP HAD TO GET THE NEGRO FREE FROM PHYSICAL INTIMIDATION AND MURDER SEFORE IT COULD TALK ADOUT HIS ENJOYING THE REST OF HIS RIGHTS, AND THIS TOOK A SIT OF DOING.

RICHTER:

IN OTHER WORDS, THERE WAS A TRANSITION THEN, SOMEWHERE ALONG THE LINE, FROM THE FIGHT FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE NEGRO PHYSICALLY TO THE PROTECTION OF HIS RIGHTS. HEN DID THIS CHANGE?

*ILKINS:

WELL, THERE WASN'T....I DON'T THINK IT'S FAIR TO SAY THAT THERE WAS A CHANGE. IT WAS ONLY THAT THE EMPHASIS UPON LYNCHING WAS AN EMPHASIS RATHER THAN AN EXCLUSIVE PROGRAM.

RICHTER:

VELL, WAS THERE A CHANGE OF EMPHASIS THEN?

ILKINS:

AH, WELL, LET US PUT IT THIS WAY: THE ASSOCIATION BROADENED ITS ACTIVITY AS IT FOUND SUPPORT AND RESOURC BEYOND THE LYNCHING FIGHT. FOR EXAMPLE, AS EARLY AS 1913, IT DECLARED AGAINST SEGREGATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS. SO THIS WAS AN OBJECTIVE IT DECLARED FOR JUSTICE IN THE COURTS, WHICH MEANT THE DUE PROCESS

CLAUSE OF THE 14TH AMENDMENT AND THE EQUAL PROTECTION CLAUSE, AND FOR NEGROES ON JURY SERVICE AND ALL THE OTHER THINGS IN COURTS. THESE WERE CARRIED ALONG. THE EARLIER ... REPORTS OF THE ASSOCIATION -- THEY COULD BE STUDIED -- WOULD SHOW A RATHER BALANCED PROGRAM WITH HEAVY EMPHASIS ON LEGAL DEFENSE AND ANTI-LYNCHING WORK, BUT NOT AN INSENSIBILITY TO THE OTHER ELEMENTS OF THE PROGRAM. LATER THESE CAME IN AND CAME TO BE MORE ESPECIALLY LEGISLATIVE WORK AND POLITICAL PROMINENT. ACTION. OF COURSE, POLITICAL ACTION AND LEGISLATIVE WORK FOR EFFECTIVENESS, MAD TO AWAIT ONE OF TWO THINGS: EITHER THE ENLARGED ENFRANCHISEMENT OF THE NEGRO IN THE SOUTHERN STATE OR THE MIGRATION OF THE NEGRO TO NORTHERN STATES WHERE HE COULD EXERCISE THE FRANCHISE WITHOUT RESTRICTION. Now, THIS DIDN'T HAPPEN OF COURSE UNTIL AFTER WORLD WAR I, HEAVY MIGRATIONS TO THE NORTH IN THE TWENTIES, AND THEN INCREASING MIGRATION FOLLOW-ING THE NEWS THAT WENT BACK AND THE TRANSFER OF RELATIV AND THE DRINGING OF THIS. AND THEN ECONOMIC CHANGES, AND LATER WORLD WAR II AND WHERE THE POPULATION SPREAD AND THE NEGRO THUS BECAME A POLITICAL FACTOR IN CERTAIN SECTIONS OF THE NORTHERN STATES. IND THEREAFTER LEGI-SLATIVE WORK, AND PRESSURE FOR THE ATTAINMENT OF THE GOALS OF THE NAME THROUGH POLITICAL ACTION OR THROUGH THE USE OF POLITICAL INFLUENCE, LET'S SAY, OR VOTING POWER, DECAME MORE EFFECTIVE DECAUSE THEY HAD MORE VOTES TO BARGAIN WITH.

RICHTER:

IN RECENT YEARS, THE NAME OF THE CONSCIOUS LIFE OF THE COMERICAN PUBLIC SECAUSE OF ITS ACTIVITY IN THE AREA OF LEGISLATION, IN THE AREA OF LEGAL PROTECTION, THE FIGHTS IT'S SEEN MAKING IN THE SEGREGATION CASES, IN THE SCHOOLS, AND SO FORTH. IS THIS JUST ONE PART OF THE NAME OF PROGRAM OR DO YOU HAVE AN EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM, OR OTHER PROGRAMS AS WELL?

WILKINS:

YES, WE HAVE, WE HAVE IN OUR MINDS AND ON PAPER A VERY BROAD PROGRAM, AND WE DO EDUCATIONAL WORK. JE MAINTAINA WASHINGTON OFFICE, FOR EXAMPLE, FOR DEALING DIRECTLY WITH THE HILL AND WITH THE GOVERNMENT AGENCIES AND IN OUR EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM WE DO THE SAME THINGS THAT OTHER ORGANIZATIONS DO IN ORDER TO WIN SUPPORT FO. THEIR POINT OF VIEW -- WE HOLD MEETINGS, AND WE ISSUE PAMPHLETS AND FILM STRIPS AND RADIO SCRIPTS, AND WE HOLD CONVENTIONS AND CONFERENCES AND ME LECTURE TO COLLEGES AND FORUMS, AND CLUBS AND WE TRY TO INTEREST OTHER ORGANIZATIONS AND GET THEM TO COOPERATE ON OUR PROGRAM AND WE IN TURN COOPERATE ON THEIR PROGRAMS, SO THAT WE USE ALL THREE OF THESE ACTIVITIES. OF COURSE, THE MOST SPECTACULAR HAS BEEN OUR LEGAL WORK. PEOPLE HAVE TENDED TO THINK OF THE NATCH AS A LEGAL DEFENSE ORGANIZATION, BUT IN RECENT YEARS SEGINNING IN NINETEE IN THE MID-THIRTIES, EARLY THIRTIES, REALLY, THE NAMED

HAS BEEN INCREASINGLY ACTIVE IN THE POLITICAL ARENA. ₩E[†]RE A POLITICAL ORGANIZATION, BUT NOT A PARTISAN ORGANIZATION.
₩E HAVE MEMB RS OF ALL PARTIES IN OUR ORGANIZATION, BUT WE DO HAVE POLITICAL ACTION.

AND OUR EDUCATION PROGRAM HASN'T BEEN AS EFFECTIVE AS WE WOULD LIKE, WE HAVE AN IDEAL FOR IT, ALTHOUGH SOME PEOPLE SAY IT HAS BEEN EFFECTIVE. I THINK IT'S BEEN EFFECTIVE LARGELY BECAUSE OF THE ISSUES THAT WE HAVE SPONSERED AND TALKED ABOUT—BECAUSE THEY THEMSELVES HAVE HAD EDUCATIONAL VALUE AND HAVE PENETRATED THE PUBLIC. BUT WE COULD DO A BETTER JOB WITH A LITTLE MORE MONEY, OF COURSE, THIS IS THE CRY OF ALL ORGANIZATIONS, ESPECIALLY VOLUNTARY ONES WHERE YOU HAVE NO ENDOWMENT AND WHERE YOU HAVE NO DRAGOONING OF MONEY. WE DON'T HIRE ANY PROFESSIONAL FUND RAISERS TO RAISE MONEY FOR US, WE PAY NO COMMISSIONS ON MEMBERSHIPS OR ON SOLICITATIONS AT ALL, WE COMPLY WITH ALL STATE REGULATIONS OF THE COLLECTION OF FUNDS. IT'S PURELY A VOLUNTARY OPERATION AND THIS KIND OF OPERATION HAS TROUBLE RAISING MONEY.

RICHTER: Does the NAACP FEEL THAT IT HAS THE GENERAL SUPPORT OF ALL NEGROES?

JE FEEL THAT WE HAVE; IN FACT, WE KNOW THAT WE HAVE THE MORA "ILKINS: SUPPORT. A CONFT HAVE THE PINANCIAL SUPPORT WIND WE DON'T THEMEMBERSHIP SUPPORT. A GOOD MANY PEOPLE ASK VERY FRANKLY, I THINK YOU ASK IT VERY DISCREETLY, HOW IS IT THAT YOU SAY THAT YOU REPRESENT THE ASPIRATIONS OF 15 OR 17 MILLION NEGRO CITIZENS. AND YOU ONLY HAVE 300,000 MEMBERS? IF YOU REPRESENTED THEIR ASPIRATIONS, WOULDN'T YOU HAVE AT LEAST A COUPLE OF MILLION MEMBERS? AND I THINK THAT'S A GOOD QUESTION. THE ANSWER IS, THAT IN A VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION, LARGELY NON-PROFESSIONAL -- WE HAVE A SMALL PAID STAFF -- YOU DON'T GET MEMBERS, PEOPLE DON'T JUST JOIN BECAUSE THEY BELIEVE IN A MOVEMENT. RECENTLY THE CATHOLIC DIGEST WITHIN THE LAST 6,8, 10 MONTHS CONDUCTED A SURVEY--SAMPLING--IN WHICH THEY FOUND THAT ABOUT 93% OF THE NORTHERN NEGROES SUPPORT THE PROGRAM OF THE NAACP IN THEIR MINDS AND IN THEIR HEARTS, AND 94% OF THE SOUTHERN NEGROES AGREED WITH THE NAACP PROGRAM. I'D LIKE TO HAVE THE DUES OF ALL THOSE PEOPLE. IT WOULD CERTAINLY MAKE THE JOB EASIER.

RICHTER: WILKINS WENT ON TO EXPLAIN THAT WHITE MEMBERSHIP OF THE NANCP RANGES FROM 10% TO 15% OF THE TOTAL. BEFORE THE RECEPRESSURE OF SOUTHERN GOVERNMENTS ON THE NANCP, HE ALSO POINTED OUT, ABOUT 60% OF THE MEMBERSHIP WAS IN THE SOUTH. THIS HAS SHRUNK. BUT MR. ALSO INDICATED THAT HE EXPECTS THAT A RECENT SUPREME COURT DECISION WHICH HOLD THAT THE NANCP WAS NOT COMPELLED TO GIVE UP OR MAKE PUBLIC MEMBERSHIP LISTS, SHOULD AID REVIVAL OF MEMBERSHIP IN THE SOUTH. AFTER THIS SURVEY OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, LET'S TURN AGAIN TO YOU, LOU. WOULD YOU GIVE US A LIGHTNING SUMMARY OF NEGRO PROTEST?

SCHNEIDER:

THAT'S ALL IT COULD POSSIBLY BE. WE STARTED WITH VIOLENT PROTEST, BEGINNING CENTURIES AGO, AND MARKED FOR THE PERIOD BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR BY THE SLAVE REVOLTS OF GABRIEL PROSSER, DENMARK VESEY, AND NAT TURNER. WE TOUCHED ON NEGROES IN THE ABOLITION MOVEMENT. WE DESCRIBED THE ACTIVITY OF MARCUS GARVEY, AND SOUGHT BRIEFLY TO ASSISS ITS SIGNIFICANCE. WE THEN TURNED TO THE NA CP. ONE OF THE CLEAREST THINGS IN THE WHOLE MOVEMENT IS THIS: IN BROAD PERSPECTIVE THEF HAS BEEN CONFLICT BETWEEN A PRINCIPLE OF SEEKING SALV.

. TION THROUGH ACTIVITY THAT RESTS NO HOPE ON THE WHITE MAN, OR ON HIS CULTURE...AND A PRINCIPLE OF L LOOKING FOR MAJOR ALLEVIATION OF THE NEGRO'S PROBLEMS THROUGH APPEAL TO DEMOCRATIC AND RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLES THAT ARE IMBEDDED IN THE WHITE MAN'S CULTURAL BACK-GROUND. THE LATTER PRINCIPLE HAS CLEARLY WON THE DAY.

RICHTER:

AGAIN, LET ME EMPHASIZE THAT WE HAVE TOUCHED ONLY THE HIGHSPOTS OF THE STORY OF NEGRO PROTEST. THE NAACP 15 THE MOST FAR-REACHING OF THE NEGRO'S PROTEST ORGANIZATIONS....ONE THAT IS NATIONAL IN ITS ACTIVITIES. HOWEVER, THERE ARE OTHER LOCAL AND REGIONAL PROTEST GROUPS AT WORK. FOR EXAMPLE THE MONTGOMERY IMPROVEMEN ASSOCIATION WHICH, AGAIN THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS, CARRIED ON THE MUCH PUBLICIZED MONTGOMERY BUS BOYCOTT; THE TUSKEGEE CIVIC ASSOCIATION WHOSE FIGHT FOR VOTING RIGHTS FOR NEGROES IN TUSKEGEE HAS BEEN GOING ON FOR MANY, MANY, MONTHS NOW....BUT A FIGHT THAT IS AGAIN A PEACEFUL ONE.

THERE IS ALSO A HOST OF ORGANIZATIONS DEDICATED TO FURTHERING THE NEGRO'S CAUSE THROUGH SOCIAL WORK, EDUCATION, AND DISCUSSION WHICH, TO DIFFERENTIATE THEN FROM WHAT WE HAVE CALLED "PROTEST" ORGANIZATIONS, WE WILL CALL "DEFENSE" ORGANIZATIONS....THESE WILL BE OUP SUBJECT FOR DISCUSSION AS WE TAKE UP "DEFENSE" NEXT WEEK IN INVESTIGATING THE PROBLEMS SURROUNDING "THE LAST CITIZEN."

MUSIC: THEME UP AND UNDER

ANNCR:

YOU HAVE BEEN LISTENING TO DR. LOUIS SCHNEIDER, PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY AT PURDUE UNIVERSITY, AND THE PROGRAM'S PRODUCER-DIRECTOR, E. W. RICHTER, AS THEY DISCUSS "THE LAST CITIZEN." THIS PROGRAM WAS PRODUCED AND RECORDED BY IBAA, PURDUE UNIVERSITY, UNDER A GRANT FROM THE EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION AND RADIO CENTER AND IS BEING DISTRIBUTED BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTERS.

MUSIC THEME UP TO FINISH

ANNCR: THIS IS THE NAEB RADIO NETWORK.

THE LAST CITIZEN

PROGRAM 17 "DEFENSE"

VCICEIL: THE NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE FORMED IN 1910

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, FORMED IN 1919 VOICE 2:

THE LOS ANGELES COUNTY COMMITTEE ON HUMAN RELATIONS. VOICE 3:

FORMED IN 1944

THE KANSAS CITY MAYOR'S COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS. VOICE 4:

FORMED IN

THE SAN FRANCISCO COUNCIL FOR CIVIC UNITY..... VOICE 5:

STINGER MUSIC:

AN ALMOST UNENDING CATALOGUE OF ORGANIZATIONS IN THE ANNCR: UNITED STATES DEVOTED TO DEFENDING AND EXTENDING THE RIGHTS OF THE NEGRO. LISTEN AS WE EXAMINE THE WORK

OF SOME OF THESE ORGANIZATIONS IN OUR CONTINUING DIS-CUSSION OF THE NEGRO IN AMERICA, "THE LAST CITIZEN".

STINGER MUSIC

THE LAST CITIZEN: THE NEGRO IN AMERICA. A SERIES INNCR: OF PROGRAMS DEVOTED TO THE EXTENSION OF OUR KNOWLEDGE OF THE LARGEST MINORITY GROUP IN THE UNITED STATES.

ITS PROBLEMS, AND THE PROBLEMS IT POSES TO ALL AMER-ICANS. THE LAST CITIZEN IS PRODUCED BY RADIO STATION /BAA, PURDUE UNIVERSITY, UNDER A GRANT FROM THE EDUC TIONAL TELEVISION AND RADIO CENTER, IN COOPERATION WITH THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTERS. THE DISCUSSAUTS ARE THE PRODUCER OF THE SERIES, E. A. RICHTER, AND DR. LOUIS SCHNEIDER, PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY AT PURDUE UNIVERSITY. TODAY

PROGRAM: "DEFENSE". HERE NOW, IS WIR. RICHTER.

IN THE PAST 16 PROGRAMS, WE HAVE BEEN DISCUSSING RICHTER: VARIOUS PROBLEMS THE NEGRO FACES AND HAS FACED IN

THE UNITED STATES OVER THE PAST THREE HUNDRED YEARS. LAST WEEK, WE DEALT WITH ORGANIZED NEGRO PROTEST. A GREAT MANY ORGANIZATIONS DEVOTED TO THE NEGRO'S CAUSE, EITHER THROUGH PROTEST SUCH AS THAT ENGAGED IN BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, OR THROUGH THE SOMEWHAT LESS PUBLIC-IZED ACTIVITIES ENGAGED IN BY DOZENS OF ORGANIZATION. SCATTERED AROUND THE COUNTRY--ACTIVITIES WHICH ARE LOOSELY BUT USEFULLY CLASSIFIED AS DEFENSE. /E HAVE

IN VIEW ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS THE NATIONAL AND LOCAL URBAN LEAGUES, THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, VARIOUS COMMITTEES ON HUMAN RELATIONS, TO MENTION ONLY A FEW.
TODAY, WE'RE GOING TO TAKE A VERBAL JOURNEY AROUND
THE COUNTRY AND FIND OUT WHAT SOME OF THESE LATTER
ORGANIZATIONS ARE, HOW THEY HAPPENED TO COME INTO
EXISTENCE, AND WHAT THEY ARE DOING, THEIR METHODS OF
OPERATION. TO OURSELVES WILL INTERJECT SOME COMMENTS
BUT WE FEEL THAT THE STORY SHOULD BE TOLD IN CONSIDERABLE PART BY THE MEN WHO MAN THE IMPORTANT POSTS IN
THE ORGANIZATIONS. AND WE SHALL PROCEED ACCORDINGLY.

SCHMEIDER:

I THINK WE SHOULD MAKE CLEAR AT THE BEGINNING, PALT, THAT THE OBJECT OF THIS PROGRAM IS PRIMARILY A DESCRI TIVE ONE. /E THINK THAT THERE'S RATHER LITTLE PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE ABOUT SUCH ORGANIZATIONS AS YOU'VE MENTIONE AND PERHAPS A GOOD BIT OF MISINFORMATION. OUR DESIGN IS TO INCREASE THE KNOWLEDGE AND LESSEN THE MISIN-FORMATION. SINCE YOU MENTIONED THE URBAN LEAGUE FIRE LET'S BEGIN WITH IT. THE URBAN LEAGUE WAS INITIATED IN THE EARLY YEARS OF THIS CENTURY. THE FIRST TENTA-TIVE ACTIVITIES THAT LED TO ITS FORMATION BEGAN 50 ODD YEARS AGO, AND THE ORGANIZATION ITSELF CAME INTO FORMAL EXISTENCE IN THE YEARS 1910 TO 1911. THE FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE LEAGUE WAS A COLUMBIA PROFESSO OF ECONOMICS, THE LATE EDWIN R. A. SELIGMAN. A GOOD PART OF THE MOTIVATION IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE LEAGUE STEMMED FROM THE DESIRE TO AID NEGROES COMING FROM THE SOUTH TO ADAPT TO THE INDUSTRIALIZED CITIES OF THE NORTH AND EAST. THE LEAGUE IS PRIMARILY AN INTERRACIAL SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCY. WYRDAL COMMENTED IN 1944 THAT "THE ACTIVITY OF THE LOCAL URBAN LEAGUE IS AS WIDE IN SCOPE AS MODERN SOCIAL WORK WHEN APPLI TO THE VARIEGATED NEEDS OF THE POVERTY-STRICKEN NEGRO COMMUNITIES, " AND MR. LESTER GRANGER, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE URBAN LEAGUE, STATES TODAY THAT OUR PRINCIPAL EMPHASIS POINTS ARE BETTER JOBS, DETTER HOUSING, BETTER HEALTH AND RECREATION, AND EQUAL ACCESS TO THE PUBLIC WELFARE FACILITIES AVAIL-ABLE TO OTHER CITIZENS OF THE COMMUNITY.

RICHTER:

HE SPOKE WITH MR. GRANGER IN THE SUMMER OF 1958, AT THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE IN NEW YORK CITY. HE INDICATED SOME IMPORTANT FEATURES OF THE WORK OF THE LEAGUE IN ANSWER TO OUR QUESTIONS

GRANGER:

THE NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE DEPENDS ENTIRELY UPON PROFESSIONAL STAFF AND UPON A REGULAR BUDGET WHICH COMES FROM THE COMMUNITY CHEST, IF THERE IS A COMMUNITY CHEST, AND UNTIL RECENTLY WE WERE MEMBERS OF THE CHEST WHEREVER WE WERE, AND CONSISTS OF AN INTERRACIAL BOARD WHICH IS ELECTED ACCORDING TO CERTAIN RULES, WITH A MEMBERSHIP WHICH IS SMALL IN COMPARISON WITH THE NA CP OR OTHER ORGANIZATIONS...AND THE URBAN LEAGUE GETS ITS STRENGTH FROM THE FACT THAT IT

IS PROFESSIONALLY DIRECTED AND ADHERES TO THE STAND-ARDS OF PROFESSIONAL SOCIAL WORK. E, THEREFORE, CAN'T CLAIM TO BE A MASS ORGANIZATION REPRESENTING NEGRO OPINION; IN FACT, WE MAKE NO EFFORT TO REPRESENT NEGRO OPINION AS SUCH.

RICHTER: Do You DEAL WITH INDIVIDUAL CASES?

GRANGER:

No, THE POINT I'M MAKING IS THAT OUR OPINIONS, OUR POLICIES, ARE THE RESULT OF INTERRACIAL CONSENSUSES ARRIVED AT THROUGH OUR BOARDS AND COMMITTEES. OUR EMPHASIS IS NOT WITH THE INDIVIDUAL CASES, BUT WITH COMMUNITY EDUCATION, ORGANIZATION, NA ACTION. WE BLUEPRINT THE SOCIAL NEEDS, AND THE ECONOMIC NEEDS OF THE NEGRO COMMUNITY. WE DEDUCE FROM THE FACTS GATHERED CERTAIN KINDS OF ACTION. WE INTERPRET THE NEEDS AND THE PROPOSED ACTION TO THE COMMUNITY. WE FIND INDIVIDUALS AND ORGANIZATIONS WILL EITHER ENLIST UNDER OUR BANNER TO GET CHANGES M.DE OR GO ON THEIR OWN TOWARD THE GOAL THAT WE ARE POINTED TO AND USING THE METHODS THAT WE'VE USED.

RICHTER: THE URBAN LEAGUE WELL-REPRESENTED IN THE SOUTH, ISN'

GRANGER:

IT IS REASONABLY WELL-REPRESENTED CONSIDERING THE FACT THAT A LOCAL URBAN LEAGUE MUST SUPPORT ITSELF.

AND ITS SUPPORT WITH PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS, MUST COME FROM THE COMMUNITY CHEST OVER A LONG PERIOD OF TIME. AND IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT THERE IS MORE RELUCTANCE ON THE PART OF A SOUTHERN COMMUNITY TO ACCEPT THE KIND OF THING THAT THE URBAN LEAGUE STANDFOR, I THINK WE DO WELL TO HAVE SET UP 18 URBAN LEAGUES IN SOUTHERN AND CLOSE BORDER STATES.

RICHTER: Now, WE WANT TO GET DOWN TO CASES. YE ASKED WR.
GRANGER FOR CONCRETE INSTANCES OF THE WORK OF THE
LEAGUE. HE SPOKE AS FOLLOWS OF THE ACTIVITY OF THE
LEAGUE IN CONNECTION WITH THE NEGRO POPULATION OF
PORTLAND, OREGON.

GRANGER:

Now I think, for instance, of Portland, Oregon, where before the war there were 1800 Negroes. After the war, at the peak of the war, there were 18,000. And Portland had always been a town of intense, though non-legal prejudice--hotel accommodations, restaurant accommodations, and so forth. The preferred jobs were barred to Negroes; the bulk of Negroes lived across the river in the Van Port, the Jerry-Built town, the war industry town. When the flood, that took place around 1945, 1946, wiped Van Port out, that cut down a large amount of Negro residence and it sent Negroes from Van Port over into

PORTLAND PROPER. AT THAT POINT, THINGS BEGAN TO HAPPEN AND AN URBAN LEAGUE WAS ORGANIZEDSIN PORTLAND IN 1946. AND WITH THE ORGANIZATION OF THE URBAN LEAGUE FOR THE FIRST TIME THE NEGRO LEADERSHIP HAD SOMETHING TO HANG ONTO. AND THERE WAS A MEANS OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN WHITE AND NEGRO LEADERSHIP. THE URBAN LEAGUE BECAME THE DRIVING FORCE IN A MOVE-MENT FOR RACIAL REFORMATION, REFORMATION OF RACIAL PRACTICES. TODAY, PORTLAND IS VERY CLOSE TO BEING A MODEL CITY IN COMPARISON WITH WHAT IT WAS IN 1943 OR 1944 OR 1945.

DO YOU ATTRIBUTE THIS PRIMARILY TO THE EFFORTS OF THE RICHTER: URBAN LEAGUE?

1 ATTRIBUTE IT PRINCIPALLY TO THE URBAN LEAGUE. GR INGER: BUT ... TO THE LEAGUE AS AN ISNERUMENT OF A RISING PUBLIC INTEREST. AND THAT'S THE LEAGUE'S FUNCTION--TO BE THE INSTRUMENT OF SOCIAL INTEREST AND OF COURSE THE INTIATOR OF SOCIAL INTEREST AS WELL. | WOULD SAY THAT A GREAT MAJORITY OF PORTLANDERS WOULD ALSO GIVE THE URBAN LEAGUE CREDIT FOR THIS CHANGE.

STILL GETTING DOWN TO CASES, AND CROSSING THE CONTIN-RICHTER: ENT TO DO SO, WE SPOKE WITH MR. VESLEY BRAZIER, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE LOS ANGELES URBAN LEAGUE. AMONG THE THINGS WE ASKED HIM WAS WHETHER THERE WERE ANY ACCOMPLISHMENTS IN LOS ANGELES ON THE PART OF THE URBAN LEAGUE IN WHICH HE TOOK PARTICULAR PRIDE.

YES, I WOULD SAY THAT THERE ARE QUITE A NUMBER THAT WE LIKE TO POINT TO WITH PRIDE. | CAN'T ENUMERATE ALL OF THEM, BUT ONE THAT HITS ME IMMEDIATELY WOULD BE OUR REQUEST TO THE FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION TO CHANGE ITS REGULATION, ITS RULE, IN TERMS OF MEET-ING THE REQUIREMENT FOR GETTING AN FHA INSURED LOAN. You'LL RECALL THAT THE FINANCIAL STIPULATION WAS SO GREAT, THAT THE AVERAGE CITIZEN COULD NOT MEET IT. I WOULD SAY THEY WANTED ONLY THE HEAD OF THE HOUSE, HIS INCOME TO BE CONSIDERED, AND IT MUST HAVE RANGED AROUND \$550.00 to \$600.00 A MONTH. THE URBAN LEAGUE, SENSING THAT IT WASN'T THE INTENT NOR THE PURPOSE OF THIS FHA RULING TO MAKE THIS PROVISION JUST FOR A CERTAIN CLASS OF PEOPLE. THEREFORE, WE RECOMMENDED to FHA through our national office that they have... GIVE SOME CONSIDERATION TO SUPPLIMENTAL INCOME, OF A WIFE, OF THE CHILDREN, OF THE AUNTS, THE RELATIVES. AND THAT THIS BE COUNTED ALSO. THIS WOULD NOT HELP JUST THE NEGRO, BUT WOULD HELP ALL CITIZENS. AS A RESULT OF OUR PROPOSAL, WE'RE HAPPY TO SAY THAT THIS WAS FOUND FEASIBLE BY FH \ AND TODAY, THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES, PEOPLE ARE NOW ABLE TO MEET THE RE-QUIREMENTS AND TO GET FHA INSURED LOANS. THERE IS

BRAZIE :

ANOTHER THAT WE LIKE TO THINK OF -- WE WORKED FOR TEN YEARS WITH OUR DEPARTMENT STORES HERE IN LOS ANGELES TRYING TO SELL THEM ON MERIT EMPLOYEMNT FOR MINORITY GROUP PERSONS AS SALES CLERKS. WE HAVEN'T COMPLETED THE JOB, BUT THERE ARE QUITE A NUMBER OF NEGRO, WEX-ICAN-AMERICAN, JAPANESE GIRLS NOW SELLING DIRECTLY FROM THE FLOOR IN OUR MAJOR DEPARTMENT STORES. WE ALSO LIKE TO THINK OF THE SUCCESS OF INTEGRATION IN THE BANKS IN LOS ÁNGELES. HERE AGAIN WE FIND, AFTER MANY YEARS OF WORKING WITH PRESIDENTS OF THESE FINAN-CIAL INSTITUTIONS, THAT MINORITY GROUP PERSONS ARE BEING HIRED IN VARIOUS CAPACITIES. I COULD GO ON, BUT I THINK THERE'D BE TOO NUMEROUS FOR US TO MENTION.

SCHNEIDER:

MALT, I NOTE ALSO THAT YOUR INTERVIEW MATERIALS WITH MR. BRAZIER INCLUDE ONE STORY THAT I THINK WE SHOULD ALLOW MR. BRAZIER TO ADD, AGAIN IN HIS OWN WORDS.

IT'STHE KIND OF THING THAT ONE CALLS "HUMAN INTEREST"
MATERIAL, AND I THINK ITS HUMAN INTEREST IS CONSIDER—
ABLE. I REFER TO THIS MATTER OF ADOPTION AND ADOPTION AGENCIES.

RICHTER:

VERY WELL, THEN. HERE'S MR. BRAZIER TO TELL US THE STORY.

BRAZIER:

Some YEARS AGO HERE IN LOS ANGELES, NONE OF THE PRIVATE ADOPTION AGENCIES WOULD ACCEPT MINORITY GROUP CHILDREN. AND WE APPROACHED THE BOARDS OF DIRECTORS OF THESE AGENCIES AND ASKED THAT THEY CONSIDER ACCEPT-ING THEM. THAT THERE WERE MANY MINORITY GROUP PARENT OR FAMILIES THAT WANTED TO ADOPT CHILDREN BUT HAD NO WHERE TO TURN, DID NOT HAVE THE LEGAL PROTECTION THAT THEY COULD GET FROM SUCH AGENCIES AS THEIRS, AND THAT WE FELT THEY OULD FIND THIS VERY HELPFUL TO THE COMMUNITY. Two of the AGENCIES ACCEPTED OUR CHALLENG AND AFTER KEEPING THE YOUNGSTERS THERE FOR SEVERAL MONTHS, THE AGENCIES CALLED US AND SAID, "JE'RE NOT ABLE TO PLACE THESE YOUNGSTERS. WOULD YOU, WHAT'S WRONG? AND WE IMMEDIATELY ASKED, "HOW DO YOU GO ABOUT PLACING YOUR CAUCASIAN YOUNGSTERS?" "WELL, WE ADVERTISE." WE SAID, "WELL, DO THE SAME FOR THE MINORITY GROUP YOUNGSTERS." THEY CALLED IN SEVERAL OF THE METROPOLITAN PAPERS AND CARRIED A PICTURE OF A VERY BEAUTIFUL LITTLE CHILD, ONE OF A DARKER HUE AND ONE OF A LIGHTER HUE, AND THE CAPTION WAS "LOOKING FO HOMES. " JE LATER LEARNED FROM THE A OPTION AGENCY THAT THEY HAD OVER 350 REQUESTS FOR THOSE TWO CHILDRE . TODAY, AS A RESULT OF THIS INITIAL EFFORT ON THE PART OF THE URBAN LEAGUE, WE NOW HAVE WHAT IS CALLED A JOINT RECRUITMENT AGENCY. THEIR PRIMARY PURPOSE IS T INTERPRET, THROUGH THE MINORITY GROUP COMMUNITY, WAYS AND MEINS OF GOING ABOUT ABOPTING A CHILD AND DISPRON-ING MANY OF THE MYTHS THAT THE ADOPTION RULES AND REGULATIONS ARE SO SEVERE AND SO STRICT THAT THEY CAN'T ADOPT A CHILD. I LIKE TO THINK OF THIS HUMAN

RELATION ELEMENT IN ADOPTION BECAUSE IT HAS BENEFITTED SO MANY OF THE MINORITY GROUP FAMILIES IN LOS ANGELES.

RICHTER:

BEFORE WE MOVE ON, WE SHOULD NOTE THAT THESE STATEMENT EXEMPLIFY ONLY A FEW OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THE URBAN LEAGUE. WE COULD FILL SEVERAL HOURS OF PROGRAMS WITH STORIES AND ANECDOTES. BUT AT LEAST WE HAVE A NOTION OF THE TYPE OF WORK THE URBAN LEAGUE DOES. BUT NOW, LOU, WHAT ABOUT THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL? CAN YOU GIVE US SOMETHING OF THE BACKGROUND OF THIS ORGANIZATION?

SCHNEIDER:

THE COUNCIL GREW OUT OF A PRIOR ORGANIZATION KNOWN AS THE COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION. THE LATTER, AS ITS NAME WOULD, OF COURSE, INDICATE, WAS A JOINT ORGANIZATION OF WHITES AND NEGROES. IT HAD ITS CENTER IN ATLANTA, AND WAS ORGANIZED IMMDIATELY AFTER WORLD WAR ONE IN 1919. IF I MAY AGAIN USE MYRDAL'S WORDS, IT WAS ORGANIZED IN "AN EFFORT TO MEET THE GREAT UNCERTAINTY AND STRAIN IN THE RELATIONS DETWEEN WHITES AND NEGROES AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR." IN 1957, THE COMBRESSIONAL RECORD PRINTED AN ACCOUNT OF THE COMMISSION FROM WHICH I'D LIKE TO QUOTE BRIEFLY:

"THE COMMISSION WAS FOUNDED BY A GROUP OF THE SOUTH'S LEADING CHURCH MEN AND WOMEN. THE COMMISSION HELPED ORGANIZE, EXTEND, AND GUIDE THE WORK OF STATE AND LOCAL INTERRACIAL COMMITTEES. IT ASSISTED THEM IN MAKING THEIR INFLUENCE FEET BY NEWSPAPERS, CIVIL AUTHORITIES, CHURCHES, SCHOOL OFFICIALS, POLICE ADMINISTRATORS, AND HEALTH OFFICERS. IT GAVE MUCH ATTENTION TO FACTUAL ANALYSIS OF THE PROBLEM OF LYNCHING AND OTHER FORMS OF INTERRACIAL VIOLENCE. ITS AUXILIARY THE ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN WOMEN FOR THE PREVENTION OF LYNCHING, UNDER THE DRIECTION OF MRS. JESSIE DANIEL AMES, DID MUCH TO EDUCATE PUBLIC OPINION IN THE CAUSES AND POSSIBLE REMEDIES FOR SUCH VIOLENCE.

THE MEETING OF WHITE AND NEGRO CITIZENS FOR THE DISCUSSION OF COMMON PROBLEMS AN ACCEPTED PRACTICE ALMOST EVERYWHERE IN THE SOUTH. IT MARSHALLED THOUSANDS OF SOUTHERN CHURCH PEOPLE IN OPPOSITION TO LYNCHING AND OTHER INJUSTICES, BROUGHT NEW LIGHT TO BEAR ON RACE RELATIONS, ISSUED TWO MILLION COPIES OF PAMPHLETS AND LEAFLETS, AND SYMBOLIZED THE FAITH OF THE SOUTHERN WHITE PROPLE AND NEGRO PEOPLE IN THE PROCESSES OF MUTUAL AGREEMENT AND COOPERATION." IN THE YEARS 1939 TO 1944, THE TRANSITION FROM THE COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION TO THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

RICHTER:

When we visited the offices of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta during the summer of 1958, Mr. Harold Fleming, the present Director, telescoped some of this historical background and went on to make some further interesting comments about the work of the Council.

FLEWING:

THE FIRST THING | THINK THAT MIGHT BE POINTED OUT IS THAT THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL IS AN ORGANIZATION OF SOME HISTORY AND ANTEDATES THE RECENT CONCERN AND ATTENTION THAT HAS CENTERED ON RACE RELATIONS IN THE South. IN FACT, IT GOES BACK, THROUGH ITS PARENT ORGA -IZATION, TO WORLD WAR I, OR JUST FTER WORLD WAR I WHEN THERE WAS AN INCREASE IN RACIAL TENSION, DIFFI-CULTIES IN THE SOUTH, AND THE COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION CAME INTO EXISTENCE. THIS ORGANIZATION PERFORMED VERY VALUABLY OVER THE YEARS UP THROUGH THE TWENTIES AND THE THIRTIES INTO THE EARLY FORTIES --PLAYED A MAJOR ROLE, FOR EXAMPLE, IN COMBATTING LYNCHINGS AND OTHER FORMS OF VIOLENCE IN THE SOUTH. DURING WORLD WAR II, SOME FRESH IMPULSES WERE FELT IN THIS FIELD IN THE SOUTH AND OUT OF A SERIES OF CONFER-ENCES AND MAJOR CONSIDERATIONS BY SOUTHERN WHITE AND NEGRO LEADERS, THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL WAS BORN. THE COUNCIL'S ROLE HAS NECESSARILY CHANGED OVER THE YEARS AS THE SITUATION HAS CHANGED. FROM THOSE DAYS WHEN NEGROES WERE PRETTY GENERALLY DISFRANCHISED, WITHOUT POLITICAL OR MUCH ECONOMIC POWER, IN THE EARLY TWENTIES. . ME'VE NOW COME TO THE POINT WHEN A SERIES OF SUCCESSFUL COURT DECISIONS HAVE DEFINED, OR REDEFINED THE RIGHTS THAT NEGROES ALONG WITH OTHER CITIZENS ARE ENTITLED, UNDER LAW, TO ENJOY. AND THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, THROUGH ITS FIELD WORK, ITS INFORMA-TION PROGRAM, THROUGH CONFERENCES, THROUGH WORK WITH THE PRESS AND THE OTHER MASS MEDIA, THROUGH, IN SHORT, A VARIETY OF TECHNIQUES, STAFF METHODS, HAS TRIED TO KEEP UP WITH THESE RAPID CHANGES AND TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE MAJOR TRANSITION THAT THE SOUTH IS UNDERGOING IN REDEFINING EQUALLY THE RIGHTS OF ALL CITIZENS.

RICHTER:

THAT DO YOU FIND THE LARGEST OBSTACLE IN FULFILLING THE AIMS OF YOUR ORGANIZATION?

FLEWING:

JELL, THE OBSTACLES, DESPITE ALL THE TENSION AND DIFFICULTY OF THE LAST FEW YEARS, THE OBSTACLES, IN A WAY, ARE FEWER AND LESS FORMIDABLE THAN THEY USED TO BE BECAUSE WE HAVE HAD A LEGAL REDEFINITION OF WHAT EQUAL RIGHTS MEAN. WHICH MEANS THAT A MORE DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY IN THE SOUTH IN WHICH NEGRO CITIZENS PARTICIPATE AND FROM WHICH THEY BENEFIT LIKE OTHER STIZENS, IS NOW UNDERWRITTEN IN LAW. THE DIFFICULTIES NOW ARIZED OF COURSE IN TRYING TO TRANSLATE THESE LEGAL REALITIES INTO THE PRACTICAL, EVERYDAY REALITIES IN SOUTHERN COMMUNITIES. THERE'S A GOOD DEAL OF TENSION, A GOOD DEAL OF VERY VOCAL RESISTANCE TO THESE CHANGES, IN THE MAIN, I THINK, STIMULATED AND LED BY POLITICAL FIGURES IN THE SOUTH.

RICHTER:

HAVING ASKED MR. FLEMING ABOUT OBSTACLES TO WORKING OUT THE AIMS OF HIS ORGANIZATION, WE ASKED HIM ALSO

TO GIVE SOME ESTIMATION OF ACTUAL ACCOMPLISHMENT. AND HE ANSMERED AS FOLLOWS:

FLE ING:

WELL, WE'RE VERY SENSITIVE TO THE FACT THAT YOU CAN'T MEASURE THESE THINGS WITH A YARDSTICK. IT'S VERY DIFFI-CULT TO MEASURE CONCRETE ACHIEVEMENT IN THIS FIELD BECAUSE YOU'RE DEALING WITH PEOPLE AND WITH PROCESSES. BUT THERE ARE THINGS THAT WE FEEL WE CAN VALIDLY SAY THAT OUR ORGANIZATION HAS ACCOMPLISHED OR HAS CONTRI-BUTED TO IN AN IMPORTANT WAY. FOR EXAMPLE, THERE'S BEEN SOME VOLUNTARY CHANGE IN RACIAL PATTERNS IN THE South. THE OPENING OF PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING, MANY OF THEM CHURCH RELATED IN THE SOUTH. TO NEGROES FOR THE FIRST TIME. THE COUNCIL UNDERTOOK. SOME YEARS AGO, TO FURTHER THIS VOLUNTARY TREND, TO MAKE THE FACTS AVAILABLE TO THE ADMINISTRATORS, TRUST-EES, AND FACULTY MEMBERS OF THOSE INSTITUTIONS. TO POINT TO WORKING PRECEDENTS ELSEWHERE. THE SAME THING IS TRUE IN A VARIETY OF OTHER FIELDS. PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS WHICH INCREASINGLY HAVE OPENED THEIR MEMBERSHIPS TO CUALIFIED NEGROES; THE USE OF NEGRO POLICEMEN IN THE SOUTH WHICH HAS PRACTICAL ADVANTAGES AS WELL AS SIMPLY BEING CIVICLY DESIRABLE: AND THE VOLUNTARY DESEGREGATION OF BUSES IN SOME CITIES. FOR EXAMPLE, AT THE HEIGHT OF THE CONTROVERSY OVER WONT-GOMERY AND BIRMINGHAM'S TRANSIT SYSTEMS, WE WERE ABLE TO POINT OUT TO THE SOUTH AND TO REST OF THE COUNTRY, THAT A NUMBER OF SOUTHERN CITIES, AND WE NAMED THEM, HAD QUIETLY AND WITHOUT CONTROVERSY, DROPPED SEGREGA-TION ON THEIR BUSES, THE TRANSITION HAD GONE SMOOTHLY, A LOT DEPENDS SIMPLY ON DEMONSTRATING WITH THESE THING CAN TE DONE. THAT THE MYTHS AND THE FEARFUL PROSPECTS WITH WHICH PEOPLE ARE HAUNTED -- THE FEAR THAT CHANGE MEANS DISASTER IN THE RACIAL FIELD, CAN BE DISPELLED BY THE JUDICIOUS USE OF FACTS AND PRECEDENTS IN THIS FIELD. AND A LOT OF OUR ACTIVITY HAS BEEN IN THAT DIRECTION. WE'VE ALSO SUPPLIED SKILLED SPECIALISTS AS CONSULTANTS TO SCHOOL BOARDS WHO ARE GRAPPLING WITH QUESTIONS OF POLICY, HOW THEY SHOULD PROCEED, TO OTHER KINDS OF COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP AS WELL, OTHER PEOPLE IN DECISION MAKING POSITIONS OR OTHER PEOPLE VINO ARE IN POSITION TO PLAY A PART IN THE DECISION MAKING PROCESS. THERE AGAIN, THE CALM AND CONSTRUCTIVE EFFECT OF, LET US SAY, A SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENT FROM KENTUCKY WHO'S BEEN THROUGH THIS EXPERIENCE, WHO HAS BEEN THE PROCESS OF DESEGREGATION WORK, AND WHO CAN BRING TO HIS COLLEAGUES IN A MORE TROUBLED AREA DEEPER South, VERY SPECIFIC, PRACTICAL ADVICE AND ASSURANCE AND KNOW-HOW. THIS, IT SEEMS TO US, IS THE KIND OF VERY VERY BEDROCK ASSISTANCE THAT AN ORGANIZATION LIKE THIS CAN MAKE POSSIBLE. A GOOD MANY OTHER EXAMPLES COULD CITE--THE OPENING UP OF PUBLIC LIBRARIES IN THE SOUTH TO CITIZENS OF BOTH RACES; OUR WORK WITH THE

MASS MEDIA, NOT ONLY IN THE SOUTH, BUT IN THE REST OF THE COUNTRY, BECAUSE BASICALLY WE FEEL THAT IT IS JUST AS IMPORTANT WHAT CITIZENS ELSEWHERE FEEL ABOUT THIS QUESTION AS IT IS IMPORTANT WHAT SOUTHERNERS FEEL THIS IS, AFTER ALL, A NATIONAL AND EVEN INTERNATIONAL THE WELFARE OF THE WHOLE UNITED STATES IS AT STAKE. VE CAN EXPECT NO WISER DECISIONS, NATIONALLY, THAN THE INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE MAKES POSSIBLE. AN ORGANIZATION LIKE OURS, WITH PEOPLE WORKING IN IT ALL OVER THE SOUTH, WITH THE INSIGHTS AND EXPERIENCE AND UNDERSTANDING THAT SOME FROM LONG YEARS OF EFFORT IN THIS FIELD, WE THINK CAN PROVIDE SOME INTERPRETATION, FACTS, ANALYSIS, UNDERSTANDING, THROUGH THE MASS MEDIA, THAT MAY FACILITATE THE NATIONAL SOLUTION TO THIS PROBLEM IN THE END. AND WE PUT IN A GOOD DEAL OF OUR TIME AND EFFORT ON THAT; IF TIME PERMITTED, WE COULD SPELL OUT A GOOD MANY EXAMPLES, INSTANCES, IN WHICH WE THINK THIS HAS BEEN EFFECTIVE.

RICHTER:

I'M AFRAID NOW THIT JUST AS MR. FLEMING IS CONSCIOUS OF OMITTING A GOOD DEAL IN HIS DESCRIPTION OF THE WORK OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, WE'LL HAVE TO OMIT A GOOD DEAL AS WELL. LET US, HOWEVER, EXAMINE ONE MORE ORGANIZATION—A LOCAL ONE. JO YOU HAVE A SUGGESTION, LOU?

SCHNEIDER:

WELL, I HAVE HERE A REPORT FOR THE YEAR ENDING APRIL 1958, OF THE COM ITTEE ON HUMAN RELATIONS OF THE COUNT OF LOS ANGELES A REPORT SUBMITTED BY THE COMMI-TTEE'S EXCUTIVE SECRETARY, MR. JOHN A. BUGGS. 1'D LIKE TO PRESENT SUMETHING OF THE CONTEXT OF THIS REPO FOR IT WILL GIVE US AN IDEA OF THE SCOPE OF THE ORGAN-IZATION'S ACTIVITIES. SOME INTERESTING DATA ARE PRE-SENTED ON THE HOUSING PROBLEMS OF MINORITY GROUPS IN LOS ANGELES, AND IN FACT, THE REPORT BEGINS BY NOTING THAT THE SINGLE GREATEST AREA OF DISCRIMINATION TODAY IS IN THE FIELD OF RESTRICTIONS AGAINST MEMBERS OF MINORITY GROUPS IN THE SALE OF HOUSES. THE REPORT GOT ON TO DISCUSS TENSIONS IN THE SCHOOLS, PROBLEMS OF EMPLOYMENT, DIVISIVE FACTORS IN THE COMMUNITY IN GENERAL, AND THE WORK OF THE COMMITTEE ON HUMAN RELATIONS. IN CONNECTION WITH THE COMMITTEE'S SPECIFI ACTIVITIES, ONE FINDS THAT IN THE COURSE OF THE YEAR, IT HELD OVER THREE HUNDRED CONFERENCES WITH INDIVIDUAL AND GROUPS....CONFERENCES RELATING OF COURSE, TO MINORITY GROUP PROBLEMS. NUMEROUS SPEAKING ENGAGEMENT WERE FILLED. CONFERENCES WERE HELD, TOO, WITH LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES. CONFERENCES WERE HELD WITH INDIVIDUALS CLAIMING DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT OUTSIDE OF COUNTY GOVERNMENT. THERE WERE RADIO AND TELEVISION APPEARANCES ON THE PART OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY IN DISCUSSION OF MINORITY GROUP CRIME AND DELINQUENCY, DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING, AND SO ON.

THIS IS BUT A VERY PARTIAL LISTING OF ACTIVITIES. ALSO, IT'S NOTEWORTHY THAT THE COMMITTEE HAS DEVOTED A GOOD DEAL OF TIME TO ADULT EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITY, A MAIN INSTRUMENTALITY OF THIS BEING A TEN SESSION FLASIC STUDY COURSE IN HUMAN RELATIONS. AND THE COMMITTEE HAS SPONSORED CONFERENCES FOR "ALL THE CHAIRMEN OF LOCAL HUMAN RELATIONS COMMITTEES WITH WHICH IT WORKS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTY." THERE WERE TWO SUCH CONFERENCES FOR THE YEAR ENDING APRIL 30, 1958. AGAIN, THE COMMITTEE HAS PREPARED "INFORMATIONAL BULLETINS, STATISTICAL REPORTS, AND OTHER MATERIALS DESIGNED TO ACQUAINT THE PUBLIC WITH CERTAIN FACTS REGARDING THE PROBLEMS AND PROGRESS IN THE FIELD OF HUMAN RELATIONS.

RICHTER:

I KNOW THAT YOU'VE GIVEN US ONLY A PART OF THE STORY OF THIS LOS ANGELES COUNTY COMMITTEE ON HUMAN RELATIONS. BUT NOW WE CAN DO NO MORE THAN TO ALLOW THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, MR. BUGGS, A FEW WORDS OF HIS OWN ON HOW THE COMMITTEE CAME TO BE FORMED.

BUGGS:

IT GREW OUT OF THE ZOOT SUIT RIOTS THAT TOOK PLACE IN LOS ANGELES IN 1944. YOU MAY RECALL THE CONFLICT SITUATIONS THAT DEVELOPED SETWEEN MARINES THAT WERE STATIONED HERE AT THAT TIME AND THE MEXICAN-AMERICANS THAT WORE THE ZOOT SUITS, SO-CALLED AT THAT TIME. THE COUNTY BOARD OF SUPERVISORS FELT THAT THE COUNTY GOVERNMENT HAD A RESPONDIBILITY IN THE AREA OF HUMAN RELATIONS, PARTICULARLY AS IT RELATED TO CONFLICT AND TENSION. AND THEY ESTABLISHENTHIS COMMITTEE FOR THE PURPOSE OF WORKING IN THE AREA OF PROGRAM LOOKING TOWARD THE ELIMINATION OF IT.

SCHNEIDER:

JE HAVE, THEN, REVIEWED QUICKLY AND TO A CONSIDERABLE EXTENT IN THE WORDS AND PUBLICATIONS OF THEIR FUNCTIONIM OFFICIALS, THE WORK OF THREE ORGANIZATIONS ENGAGED IN ACTIVITIES DESIGNED TO FURTHER THE INTEREST OF THE NEGRO. ACTIVITIES WE LOOSELY LABELLED DEFENSE. WE HAVE INCLUDE REFERENCE TO A NATIONAL ORGANIZATION, TO AN IMPORTANT REGIONAL ORGANIZATION, AND TO ONE PARTICULAR LOCAL ORGAN-IZATION. THE CONCRETE AND ILLUSTRATIVE NATURE OF TODAY PROGRAM IS EVIDENT ENOUGH. IT IS OUR FEELING THAT AMERICANS WISH TO, AND SHOULD, KNOW ABOUT THE WORK OF SUCH ORGANIZATIONS AS THESE. BEFORE WE COME CLOSE TO AN-GENUINE "SOLUTION" OF THE SO-CALLED NEGRO PROBLEM, IT MAY WELL PROVE NECESSARY THAT AN APPRECIABLE PORTION OF OUR CITIZENRY BE DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY, AT ONE LEVEL OR ANOTHER, INVOLVED IN WORK OF THE KINDS THAT WE'VE DESCRIBED.

RICHTER:

NEXT WEEK WILL BRING US TO THE FINAL PROGRAM IN THIS SERIES. IN THIS PROGRAM, WE WILL BRIEFLY REVIEW SOME OF THE FACTS AND PRINCIPLES WITH WHICH WE HAVE BEEN CONCERDURING THE PAST WEEKS. WE'LL TAKE A LOOK AT WHAT THE

FUTURE MIGHT HAVE IN STORE AS TE LISTEN TO COMMENTS MADE BY SOME OF THE PEOPLE WITH WHOM WE'VE SPOKEN. JOIN US, THEN, NEXT WEEK AS TE CONCLUDE OUR DISCUSSIONS ON THE LIFE OF THE NEGRO IN AMERICA, "THE LAST CITIZEN".

MUSIC: THEME UP AND UNDER

ANNCR: You have been Li

You have been listening to DR. Louis Schneider, Professor of Sociology at Purdue University, and the program's Producer-director, E. W. Richter, as they discuss "The Last Citizen". This program was produced and recorded by JBAA, Purdue University, under a grant from the Educational Television and Radio Center and is being distributed by the National As ociation of Educational Broadcasters.

MUSIC: THEME UP TO FINISH

ANNCR: THIS IS THE NAEB RADIO NETWORK.

THE LAST CITIZEN

FUTURE!

AYS:

THINK THAT WE WILL INEVITABLY MOVE TOWARDS DESEGRE GATION IN EVERY AREA OF AMERICAN LIFE. HOW LONG WILL TAKE? I DON'T KNOW.

MUSIC: STINGER

ANNCR:

A VIEW OF THE FUTURE GIVEN BY DR. BENJAMIN E. MAYS, PRESIDENT OF MORE HOUSE COLLEGE IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA. WE SHALL HEAR MORE FROM DR. MAYS AND OTHERS AS WE TA' UP THE MATTER OF "THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE" IN THE THE FINAL PROGRAM IN THE SERIES, "THE LAST CITIZEN",

MUSIC: STINGER

ANNCR:

THE LAST CITIZEN: THE NEGRO IN AMERICA. A SERIES O PROGRAMS DEVOTED TO THE EXTENSION OF OUR KNOWLEDGE OF THE LARGEST MINORITY GROUP IN THE UNITED STATES, ITS PROBLEMS, AND THE PROBLEMS IT POSES TO ALL AMERICANS THE LAST CITIZEN IS RODUCED BY RADIO STATION WBAA, PURDUE UNIVERSITY, UNDER A GRANT FROM THE EDUCATION TELEVISION AND RADIO CENTER, IN COOPERATION WITH THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTERS. TO DISCUSSANTS ARE THE PRODUCER OF THE SERIES, E. W. RICHTER, AND DR. LOUIS SCHNEIDER, PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY AT PURDUE UNIVERSITY. TODAY'S PROGRAM: THE NEGRO; HIS PRESENT AND HIS FUTURE. HERE NOW, IS MR. RICHTER.

RICHTER:

FOR THE PAST SEVENTEEN WEEKS WE HAVE BEEN EXPLORING VARIOUS FACETS OF THE LIFE OF THE NEGRO IN AMERICA. TODAY WE SHALL ENGAGE IN SOME GENERAL REFLECTIONS ABOUT THE MATERIALS WE HAVE COVERED. OUR MAJOR QUESTION IN ORGANIZING THESE REFLECTIONS IS THIS: LOOK ING AT THE MATTER IN TERMS OF THE INTERESTS AND VALU OF THE NEGRO, IS THERE GROUND FOR OPTIMISM ABOUT HIS CAUSE IN THE UNITED STATES IN THE NEAR FUTURE? CAN WE BEGIN TO ANSWER THAT QUESTION, LOU?

SCHNEIDER:

I BELIEVE THERE IS WARRANT FOR SOME OPTIMISM...EWEN IF IT MUST OFTEN BE AN OPTIMISM TEMPERED BY CAUTION. LET ME TRY TO INDICATE ONE GROUND OF OPTIMISM TO WHICH NUMBERS OF STUDENTS OF RACE RELATIONS ASSIGN SOME IMPORTANCE. It'S SOMETHING WE'VE BEEN OVER, BUT I THINK THIS IS AN APPROPRIATE TIME TO STRESS IT AGAIN. WHEN WE LOOK AT THE SO-CALLED NEGRO PROBLEM IN ALL ITS FACETS, IN ALL ITS ASPECTS, IN ALL ITS DIMENSIONS...HOWEVER YOU WISH TO PUT IT...I SUPPOSIT'S RATHER EASY FOR US TO FEEL OVERWHELMED IF WE LOOK FOR A SOLUTION WHICH, AS YOU PUT IT, WOULD BE I

LINE WITH THE NEGRO'S INTERESTS AND VALUES. THERE ARE THESE CONSIDERABLE PROBLEMS OF PREJUDICE, OF DISCRIMINATION, OF SEGREGATION. THERE ARE THE THOUS-SAND AND ONE PROBLEMS THAT CENTER ON HOUSING, MIGRA-TION, RACE RELATIONS IN THE LARGE METROPOLITAN CENTE: CRIME, DELINQUENCY, AND SO ON AND ON. THE GROUND OF OPTIMISM | AM THINKING OF IS ONLY THE PRINCIPLE OF HITTING A DALANCE OF FORCES IN STRATEGIC FASHION THAT SOME OLD PRINCIPLE WHICH MYRDAL EMPHASIZED SO MUCH. LET ME VENTURE SOME REPETITIONS... THE NEGRO'S HOUSING, FOR AN ARBITRARY STARTING POINT, AFFECTS HIS HEALTH; HIS HEALTH, IN TURN, IS LIKELY TO AFFECT HIS F CONOMIC WELFARE; HIS ECONOMIC WELFARE, HIS STATUS; AND HIS STATUS IN ITS TURN, HIS CHANCES FOR DECENT HOUSING. ONE CAN WORK OUT A VARIETY OF SUCH CHAINS OR CIRCLES. LET'S SAY, AGAIN ARBITRARILY, AND USING AN EXTREMELY CRUDE ECONOMIC NOTION, THAT IT WOULD TAKE ONE HUNDRED BILLION DOLLARS TO "SOLVE", IN SOME SENSE, NEGRO PROBLEMS ON THE FRONTIERS OF HOUSING, HEALTH, STATUS, AND SO ON, IF THOSE PROBLEMS WERE ATTACKED ONE BY ONE, AND IF ON EACH FRONTIER THE ENDEAVOR WERE TO MAKE MAXIMUM POSSIBLE GAINS FOR THE NEGRO. WE MIGHT SOON DISCOVER THAT A PIECEMEAL APPROACH LIKE THIS WAS REALLY UNNECESSARY OR INAPPLIA ABLE....UNNECESSARY OR INAPPLICABLE BECAUSE OF THE CHAIN, OR CIRCLE, OR FACTOR-INTERACTION PHENOMENON. ONE FACTOR, SUCH AS HOUSING, IN ASET OF INTERRELATED FACTORS, WHEN PROPERLY "PUSHED", COULD WELL START AN ENTIRE UPWARD MOVEMENT, ON THE SAME PRINCIPLE ON WHICH A RELATIVELY SMALL ROCK, WHEN STRATEGICALLY DISPLACED, MAY CAUSE AN AVALANCHE. STILL PURSUING THE CRUDE ECONOMIC NOTION WE MIGHT THEN DISCOVER THAT THE COST WOULD REDUCE FROM ONE HUNDRED BILLION TO ON BILLION DOLLARS. OF COURSE, THESE PARTICULAR FIGURE ARE NOT TO BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY.

RICHTER:

I GATHER THAT YOU THINK THAT THIS GENERAL PRINCIPLE OF STRATEGIC HITTING OF FACTORS THAT CAN START RAMI-FYING ACTION IS A VERY IMPORTANT ONE AND ONE THAT GIVES SOME GENUINE GROUND FOR OPTIMISM. BUT WOULD YOU MIND MAKING THE MATTER PERHAPS A LITTLE CLEARER FOR US BY EXPLAINING FURTHER, OR QUALIFYING, YOUR COMMENTS?

SCHNEIDER:

I'LL TRY, SHORT OF MAKING AN EXCESSIVELY LENGTHY
SPEECH. I DO THINK THE PRINCIPLE EXTREMELY IMPORTANT
ONE THAT DOES GIVE WARRANT FOR SOME OPTIMISM. BUT I
WILL QUALIFY. FIRST, IT'S A GENERAL, ONE MAY EVEN
CALL IT A FORMAL, PRINCIPLE. IT DOES NOT, FOR EXAMPL
TELL US HOW WE MAY GO TO WORK IN A PARTICULAR COMMUN
ITY WITH ITS PARTICULAR CONSTELLATION OF RACE PROBLE
AND HIT WITH THE HIGHEST ECONOMY OF EFFORT AND ENERGON THE STRATEGIC FACTORS IN GENERAL DOES NOT TELL US

WHAT THE STRATEGIC FACTORS IN ACTUAL SITUATIONS ARE. ALSO, AS WE'VE SUGGESTED BEFORE, YOU CAN GET A STRATEGIC DISPLACEMENT, A STRATEGIC PUSH, THAT WILL SET OFF A RAMIFYING DOWNWARD MOVEMENT THAT IS ALSO CUMULATIVE AND VERY POWERFUL. FINALLY, IT IS POSSIBL THAT IN VARIOUS PARTICULAR SITUATIONS YOU MAY GET INTERFERENCE FROM OUTSIDE THE SPIRAL. THUS, AS I BELIEVE WE'VE NOTED, WHITES SEEING THE POWERFULLY RAMIFYING, CUMULATING EFFECTS OF AN UPWARD SPIRAL MIGHT STILL BE IN A POSITION TO PUT A HALT TO IT BY SOME KIND OF INTERVENTION FROM OUTSIDE THE SPIRAL SYSTEM. OF COURSE, THERE MIGHT BE TIMES WHEN THEY COULD NOT READILY DO THIS OR WHEN THEY COULD NOT DO IT AT ALL.

RICHTER:

I TAKE IT THAT DESPITE THESE QUALIFICATIONS, YOUR FEELING IS THAT THE PRINCIPLE YOU'VE BEEN TALKING ABOUT STILL WARRANTS A CERTAIN DEGREE OF OPTIMISM. I TAKE IT, TOO, THAT YOU WOULD AGREE THAT IN THE PRESENT DAY IN THE UNITED STATES IT IS POSSIBLE TO SEE THE UPWARD OR BENEFICENT SPIRAL AT WORK?

SCHNEIDER:

YES, MIND YOU, IT STILL DOES SEEM TO ME THAT A GOOD BIT OF PLANNING IS NECESSARY AT VARIOUS LEVELS IN ORDER TO MAKE UPWARD SPIRALS WORK WITH MAXIMUM EFFECTIVENESS. FURTHER, A GOOD DEAL OF RESEARCH IS NEEDED SO THAT WE MAY HAVE BETTER KNOWLEDGE OF WHAT STRATEG FACTORS ARE, AND OF PRECISELY HOW THEY WORK. EVEN NOW, HOWEVER, THERE IS A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF PERTIMENT KNOWLEDGE AND I SHALL ADHERE, AT LEAST FOR THE TIME BEING, TO MY QUALIFIED OPTIMISM ON THIS WHOLE MATTER

RICHTER:

DO YOU FEEL OPTIMISM ON ANY OTHER GROUNDS?

SCHNEIDER:

I DO. AGAIN PROVIDING THAT THERE ARE CERTAIN QUALIFICATIONS. ANTIPATHY TO THOSE WHO HAVE DIFFERENT SKIN COLOR, AND PRACTICES OF SEGREGATION AND DISCRIMINATION ARE LEARNED SENTIMENTS AND ACTIONS. IN THE WORDS OF THE SONG FROM "SOUTH PACIFIC", "You've GOT TO BE CAREFULLY TAUGHT."

RICHTER:

JUST HOW DOES THIS GIVE GROUND FOR OPTIMISM?

SCHNEIDER:

PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION ARE LEARNED FROM OTHERS HUMAN BEINGS ARE NOT "NATURALLY" PREJUDICED. PREJUDICE IS NOT CARRIED IN THE GERM PLASM. A NEW GENERATION OF SOUTHERNERS NOT RAISED IN THE SOUTH, BUT IN AN ENVIRONMENT FREE OF PREJUDICE WOULD ITSELF BE FREE OF PREJUDICE. NOW I'M PUTTING THIS IN A SIMPLIFIED WAY. WE MUST REMEMBER THAT PREJUDICE IS OFTEN SUSTAINED BY THE GAINS THAT COME FROM DISCRIMINATION. IT MAY BE ALSO THAT HUMAN BEINGS HAVE CERTAIN IMPULSES TOWARD THE ASSERTION OF THE PRIMACY

OF THEIR OWN INTERESTS THAT WILL ALWAYS CONSTITUTE A KIND OF SEED BED FOR THE EMERGENCE OF PLANTS LIKE PREJUDICE. I'D LIKE TO DEVELOP THESE QUALIFICATIONS, BUT LET ME COME BACK TO MY GENERAL ASSERTION. PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION ARE AT LEAST SO MUCH A: MATTER OF LEARNED, CULTURALLY TRANSMITTED, BEHAVIOR, THAT ANY PRACTICALLY ORIENTED ATTACKS ON THEM CAN PROFIT GREATLY FROM TAKING THIS INTO ACCOUNT.

RICHTER:

OF COURSE, IN THE SOUTH CERTAIN ANTIPATHETIC ATTITUD TOWARD THE NEGRO ARE CULTURALLY TRANSMITTED FROM ONE GENERATION TO THE NEXT, AND I KNOW YOU ARE AWARE THAT THIS CAN HAPPEN IN THE NORTH TOO, BUT YOU CAN'T MEAN THAT THIS GIVES YOU GROUND FOR OPTIMISM?

SCHNEIDER:

HARDLY. BUT MY STRESS IS JUST ON THE CULTURAL SIDE OF THE MATTER. CULTURES DO CHANGE. GRANTED, IN THE LIGHT OF CERTAIN VALUES, THEY MAY CHANGE FOR THE WORSE, BUT IT'S THEIR SHEER CHANGEABILITY THAT I'm NOW EMPHASIZING. IN OTHER WORDS, SIMPLE AND ELEMENT ARY THOUGH IT BE, IT'S AN EXTREMELY VALUABLE BIT OF KNOWLEDGE THAT WE SHOW WE HAVE WHEN WE SAY, QUITE CORRECTLY: THIS SCUTHERN NEGRO-WHITE SITUATION IS SUBJECT TO CHANGE. IT CAN BE CHANGED. IT MAY EVEN BE CHANGED VERY RADICALLY AT LEAST IN THE COURS OF TIME. PLEASE NOTE THAT I AM INDEED TRYING TO BE CAUTIOUS IN THE OPTIMISM THAT I AM EXPRESSING. IT MAY WELL BE THAT THE MORE OR LESS EFFECTIVE ELIMINA-TION OR SOLUTION OF THE SO-CALLED RACE PROBLEM IN THE UNITED STATES MAY BRING NEW AND SERIOUS PROBLEMS IN ITS TRAIN. BUT THIS IS A LARGE SUBJECT BY ITSELF AND IT'S NOT OUR CONCERN TODAY. AGAIN, THE CULTURAL ELEMENT IN PREJUDICE DOES MAKE US SEE THE SHEER POS. BILITY OF CONSIDERABLE CHANGE.

RICHTER:

Now where would you go from here? Would you, for example, also see as ground for optimism the Demo-cratic heritage of this country? Would you agree with Myrdal that the A-ERICAN CREED IS A REALLY POWERFUL THING?

SCHNEIDER:

I THINK THE CREED DOES HAVE POWER, CONSIDERABLE POWER. AT THE SAME TIME THERE HAVE BEEN AND THERE ARE FORCES THAT WORK AGAINST IT. IF THE CREED HAD THE FIELD TO ITSELF WE WOULD GET A CERTAIN SIMPLICIT THAT WE OBVIOUSLY DON'T FIND. BUT AS FAR AS THE NEARLY DEFINITELY THE EXISTENCE OF THE CREED IS BOTH A MAJOR HOPE AND A MAJOR RESOURCE.

RICHTER:

IT SEEMS TO BE PRETTY CLEAR THAT THE ACTIVITY OF TH PROTEST AND DEFENSE ORGANIZATIONS, WHICH WE'VE REVIEWED, IS BASED ON THE PREMISE—AND THE HOPE—THAT AMERICANS WILL BE ULTIBATELY RESPONSIVE TO THE

Negro's appeal to American principles of Defocracy, justice, and so on. I recall also, that we made the point in discussing protest as a whole and in historical perspective, that there has been a long-time shift from a principle of no expectations from the white man and his cultural heritage, to a principle of moral appeal and reliance on the notion that the white man's political and religious principles can be made to work for the Negro's cause.

SCHNEIDER:

YES. YET, AGAIN, WE HAVE TO BE CAUTIOUS. HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE MUST INDUCE CAUTION. POLITICAL PRINCIPLES ARE SUBJECT TO A REMARKABLE DEGREE OF TWISTING AND TURNING. FROM THE SAME GENERAL POLITICAL DOCTRINE ME ARE CAPABLE OF DEDUCING THAT ALL SHOULD BE FREE, BUT ALSO OF DEDUCING THAT A GREAT NUMBER SHOULD BE SLAVES RELIGION, TOO, CAN BE USED AS FOR EXAMPLE IT HAS BEEN USED IN SOUTH AFRICA, TO JUSTIFY A VERY SUBORDINATE STATUS FOR A COLORED POPULATION. IN FACT, AS WE KNOW THINGS LIKE THESE HAVE HAPPENED IN THE UNITED STATES. ME ARE, NEVERTHELESS, CURRENTLY IN A PHASE IN MHICH, AS FAR AS THE NEGRO IS CONCERNED, THERE IS AN OBVIOUS DISPOSITION--DESPITE A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF RESISTANCE TO IT--AN OBVIOUS DISPOSITION TO CONSTRUE POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS DOCTRINES IN SUCH FASHION AS TO FORWARD THE NEGRO'S INTERESTS. THAT NEGROES THEMSELVES CURRENTLY THINK CONSTANTLY IN TERMS OF DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL PRINCIPLES. IT MAY BE THAT DESPITE THE POPULARITY AND IMPORTANCE OF FIGURES LIKE DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, THE NEGRO PROFESSIONAL LEADERSHIP IS SHIFTING AWAY FROM THE MINISTRY AS SUCH. AT THE SAME TIME. ONE GETS THE IMPRESSION THAT THE APPEAL TO AND BELIEF IN RELIGIOUS NOTIONS THAT ARE MADE TO BEAR ON THE NEGRO'S SITUATION ARE STILL VERY PERSUASI AND VERY IMPORTANT IN THE OUTLOOK OF MANY NEGROES.

RICHTER:

WHAT YOU'RE SAYING REMINDS ME VERY MUCH OF A BRIEF STATEMENT WHICH WE ELICITED FROM WISS PAULI MURRAY, NEGRO AUTHOR AND ATTORNEY, TO WHOM WE HAVE LISTENED BEFORE IN THESE PROGRAMS. WE ASKED WISS MURRAY HOW SHE THOUGHT THE NATION MAY HAVE BENEFITTED FROM THE PRESENCE WITHIN IT OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE, AND IN HER ANSWER SHE TOUCHES IN HER OWN WAY THE VERY THINGS YOU'VE MENTIONED.

MURRAY:

I THINK THE NATION HAS BENEFITED IN MANY WAYS BUT I THINK TWO WAYS STAND OUT AS DRAMATICALLY SIGNIFICAD. THE PRESENCE OF THE NEGRO IN THIS COUNTRY HAS PROVIDE THE UNITED STATES WITH A TEST TUBE FOR DEMOCRACY. TO POLITICAL THEORY OF DEMOCRACY IS ONE OF THE MOST DIFFICULT TO CARRY OUT IN PRACTICE, BECAUSE IT RESTS UPON THE ASSENT OF FREE PEOPLE AND RESTS UPON THE DISCIPLINE OF THE INDIVIDUAL TO ACCORD EVERY OTHER INDI-

VIDUAL IN THE SOCIETY THE SAME RIGHTS WHICH HE HAS. Now, THE PECULIAR, CONTRADICTORY BACKGROUND OF THE NEGRO AS A SLAVE IN A COUNTRY THAT WAS FOUNDED UPON THE PRINCIPLE THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED RREE AND EQUAL, HAS SET UP A CONSTANT CONTRADICTION WITHIN THIS YOUNG, RAW AMERICAN DEMOCRACY OF A GAP BETWEEN ITS PRINCIPLES AND ITS PRACTICES. AND HAVING SELECTED THE MOST DIFF-ICULT OF POLITICAL THEORIES UPON WHICH TO FOUND OUR COUNTRY, WE HAVE WITHIN OUR OWN CITIZENSHIP EVERY COLOR AND KIND, IN A SENSE, OF MANKIND THROUGHOUT THE THE LARGEST, SINGLE MINORITY GROUP BEING THE WORLD. THEREFORE, THE NEGRO HAS ACTED AS A BAROMETEL OF DEMOCRACY, A MEASURING ROD: HOW EFFECTIVE ARE WE AS A DEMOCRATIC COUNTRY? HOW NEAR ARE WE TO ACHIE -ING THIS GOAL OF DEMOCRACY WHICH WE BELIEVE IS THE BEST POSSIBLE POLITICAL ORGANIZATION IN THE WORLD? THE PREOCCUPATION OF THE NEGRO WITH THE IMPLEMENTATION OF DEMOCRACY HAS KEPT AMERICANS SENSITIVE TO THESE Founding Principles, AND SENSITIVE TO THE GOAL WHICH WE HOPE TO ACHIEVE IN THE LONG RUN. AND THE SECOND GREAT CONTRIBUTION OF THE NEGRO WHICH | THINK IS PARTIALLY COMPREHENDED BY MANY AMERICANS IS THE SPIRITUAL QUALITY WHICH HAS GROWN OUT OF THIS EXPER-IENCE OF OPPRESSION AND SLAVERY. THAT IS THE ABILITY TO PATIENTLY WORK TOWARD FIRST-CLASS CITIZENSHIP WITHOUT CONTINUOUS VIOLENT REBELLION. THESSELF-RESTRAINT AND THE DISCIPLINE WHICH NEGROES BY AND LARGE HAVE SHOWN THROUGHOUT THIS LONG, LONG STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN DIGNITY -- AND I THINK THAT THIS HAS BEEN PARTICULARLY DRAMATIZED IN THESE INCIDENTS IN RECENT YEARS IN THE SOUTH: IN THE MONTGOMERY BOYCOTT, FOR EXAMPLE, AND IN THE EXEMPLARY BEHAVIOR OF THE NINE LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS, STUDENTS AND OF MRS. DATES, THEIR LEADER, IN FACING VIOLENCE, IN FACING HUMILIA-TION, WITH ALMOST SUPERHUMAN DIGNITY AND RESTRAINT. AND WHEN YOU INTERVIEWED THESE PEOPLE AND TALKED WITH THEM, YOU FOUND THAT THEY WOULD SAY, "ME PRAYED BEFOR" WE LEFT HOME IN THE MORNING, " AND THAT "WE HAVE A GREAT BELIEF IN GOD, AND BUT FOR OUR FAITH IN GOD, WE NEVER WOULD HAVE MADE IT. AND I THINK THAT EVERY COUNTRY, IF IT IS GREAT, MUST HAVE GREAT SPIRITUAL ROOTS. AND I THINK NEGROES HAVE BEEN FORCED TO DEVELOP THIS SPIRITUAL QUALITY AND I THINK AMERICA IS THE RICHER FOR IT.

SCHNE LDER:

THIS TWO-FOLD POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS APPEAL COMES UP TIME AND AGAIN IN THE INTERVIEW MATERIALS YOU GATHERED. I RECALL THAT WHEN YOU ASKED BENJAMIN WAYS, THE WELL-KNOWN NEGRO EDUCATOR, WHAT THE FUTURE HOLDS FOR THE NEGRO IN THE UNITED STATES HE, TOO, REVERTED TO THESE CONSTANTS: APPEAL TO POLITICAL PRINCIPLE, APPEAL TO RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLE. THIS IS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT, IT SEEMS TO ME, AS REVEALING NEGRO HOPE AND NEGRO SENTIMENT.

RICHTER:

LET'S LISTEN TO DR. MAYS THEN, AS HE ANSWERS OUR QUESTION, "HAT DOES THE FUTURE HOLD?"

WAYS:

Now you have asked the toughest question of all. THINK WHEN, WHEN WE GET A CHANCE TO LOOK AT OUR SELVES, WE'VE GOT TO MOVE ON. YOU SEE, NEVER'S A LONG TIME. AND I DON'T BELIEVE ANY MAN IS WISE ENOUGH TO PREDICT THAT THERE LL NEVER BE ANY DESEGREGATION IN HIS STATE. HEN A MAN TALKS LIKE THAT HE'S A, HE'S ASSUMING THE ROLE OF GOD, AND I DON'T THINK THAT ANYBODY HAS A RIGHT TO PLAY GOD. I THINK THAT WE WILL INEVITABLY MOVE TOWARDS DESEGREGATION IN EVERY AREA OF AMERICAN LIFE. HOW LONG WILL IT TAKE? | DON'T KNOW. | F WE DO NOT MOVE THAT WAY, WE SHOULD GIVE UP OUR LEADERSHIP IN THE WORLD AS A, AS A GREAT DOMOCRACY; AND WE SHOULD STOP TALKING TO THE PEOPLE IN ASIA AND AFRICA ABOUT FREEDOM, AND ABOUT DEMOCRACY. IND WE SHOULD STOP TRYING TO EVANGELIZE THE HEATHENS. SO OUR, OUR MORAL LEADERSHIP IN THE WORLD IS ... IS ... IS AT STAKE. AND AS LONG AS WE HOLD ON TO THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION AND AS LONG AS WE PRAACH CHRIST, AND TALK ABOUT GOD BEING THE FATHER OF ALL MANKIND, WE CAN'T, WE CAN'T STOP WORKING ON THIS PROBLEM TO MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR EVERY AMERICAN TO HAVE THE RIGHT TO GROW, AND TO DEVELOP UNHAMPERED IN KEEPING WITH HIS ABILITIES AND HIS POWERS. WE CAN'T MOVE ANY OTHER WAY UNLESS WE ARE GOING TO BECOME A FASCIST STATE, AND THAT, AMERICA CAN'T AFFORD.

SCHNEIDER:

LET ME COME IN AGAIN AT THIS POINT TO NOTE THAT OUR STRESS HAS BEEN THAT THERE ARE CERTAIN GROUNDS FOR OPTIMISM ABOUT THE NEGRO'S CAUSE IN THE UNITED STATES, THE LAST GENERAL MATTER WE'VE BEEN DISCUSSING IN THIS CONNECTION IS THE MATTER OF DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES. AND WE'VE JUST NOTED THAT THE MEGRO HAS HOPE IN, AND MAKES APPEALS TO THEM.....JUST AS HE APPEALS TO RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLES. THERE IS ALSO SOME GROUND FOR HOPE FOR THE NEGRO'S CAUSE IN THE EXPECTATION AND CRITICISM OF PEOPLES ABROAD. A THOUSAND AND ONE WITNESSES TUSTIFY TO THE FACT THAT CRITICAL EYES FOCUS ON THE UNITED STATES, ESPECIALLY IN RESPECT OF THE NEGRO PROBLEM AS CONNECTED WITH THE DEMOCRATIC FACE THE UNITED STATES WISHES TO TURN TO THE WORLD. I THINK THAT THIS MAY USTIMATELY BE OF SOME IMPORTANCE IN "FIRMING UP" MORE DEMOCRATIC TREATMENT OF THE NEGRO. . .

RICHTER:

AND YET, WOULDN'T YOU ADMIT THAT SOME SEGMENTS OF THE WHITE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES MIGHT BE WILLIN TO PAY THE PRICE IN ILL-WILL AMONG NATIONS ABROAD FOR CONTINUING TO PRACTICE DISCRIMINATION AGAINST THE NEGRO?

SCHNEIDER: OF COURSE | ADMIT SUCH POSSIBILITIES. THERE ARE HARD

CHOICES TO BE MADE IN CONNECTION WITH THE NEGRO, AND THERE IS NO GUARANTEE THAT THEY WILL ALWAYS BE MADE AS THE NEGRO WOULD LIKE TO SEE THEM MADE.

RICHTER:

I NOTICE THAT YOU USED THE PHRASE "HARD CHOICE."
INTERESTINGLY ENOUGH, MR, HAROLD FLEMING, DIRECTOR
OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, DEVELOPED THIS NOTI
IN A QUICK REVIEW OF AREAS IN WHICH SOUTHERNERS DO
FACE HARD CHOICES, WHEN WE SPOKE WITH HIM IN ATLANTA
SOME TIME AGO. MR. FLEMING STRESSES SEVERAL THINGS
WE'VE ALREADY STRESSED IN TODAY'S PROGRAM, AND ADDS
ONE OR TWO THINGS TO WHICH WE MIGHT WELL HAVE PAID
MORE ATTENTION.

FLEWING:

LET US SAY THE SOUTH IS COMMITTED AT THE MOMENT, ITS OFFICIAL LEADERSHIP IS COMMITTED TO TWO THINGS: COMMITTED TO THE ADV NCEMENT OF THE SOUTH'S ECONOMY--THE GROWTH OF THE MODERN URBAN-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX IN THE SOUTH: AND IT'S DEVOTED TO THE PRESERVATION OF SEGREGATION AS A KIND OF ABSOLUTE. WE BELIEVE, AND I THINK A GOOD MANY STUDENTS OF THE QUESTION BELIEVE, THAT THESE TWO THINGS ARE INCOMPATIBLE, AND SOONER OR LATE, IN EVERY GIVEN SITUATION, THE DOCTRINE OF HARD CHOICES MAY BE EXPECTED TO OPERATE. THAT IS, A COMMUNITY OR STATE IS GOING TO HAVE TO CHOOSE WHETH-TO ADVANCE ITS ECONOMIC PROGRESS, ITS INDUSTRIAL GROWTH, AND THE ORDERLY GROWTH AND FUNCTIONING OF ITE CITIES, OR WHETHER TO DEDICATE ITSELF TO A, AN UN-YIELDING, ABSOLUTIST ADHERENCE TO SEGREGATION. THIS IS TRUE FOR A VARIETY OF REASONS, BUT TWO THINGS MAIN THAT IS, THE INSISTANCE OF NEGROES THEMSELVES, WHICH DON'T THINK WILL GO AWAY, THAT THESE CHANGES COME ABOUT: AND SECONDLY, THE INCREASING, THE MOUNTING . PRESSURES IN TERMS OF LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE ACTIONS WITHIN THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT. THERE IS ALSO THE OPINION OF THE REST OF THE COUNTRY AND THE REST OF THE WORLD THAT HAS TO CONSIDERED IN THESE CHOICES. THAT'S ONE EXAMPLE. THERE ARE A NUMBER OF HARD CHOICES INVOLVED -- SOME OF THEM OF THE EHTICAL OR MORA NATURE. IF IT BECOMES APPARENT THAT THE ONLY WAY TO RESIST THE ADVANCE OF DESEGREGATION IS BY VIOLENCE OF ILLEGAL MEANS, OBVIOUSLY THE GREAT MAJORITY OF WHITE SOUTHERNERS WOULD BE LOATHE TO RESORT TO THESE METHOD AND LIKE PEOPLE ANYWHERE, WOULD VERY MUCH, BE VERY MUCH OPPOSED TO THE BREAKDOWN OF LAW AND ORDER. AGAIN, YOU SEE, A DOCTRINE OF HARD CHOICES. SIMILARL THE SOUTH IS REFERRED TO AS THE BIBLE BELT AND THERE IS A GREAT DEAL OF RELIGIOUS ACTIVITY, RELIGIOUS COMMITMENT IN THE SOUTH. AGAIN, RELIGIOUS VALUES AS AGAINST THE TRADITIONAL FOLK VALUES OF THE SOUTH IN THE FIELD OF RACE -- THAT IS ADHERENCE TO SEGREGATION --ARE IN CONFLICT BASICALLY. AND WHEN THAT CONFLICT BECOMES VERY SHARP AND VERY IMMEDIATE, THESE VALUES

REALLY HAVE TO BE WEIGHED AGAINST EACH OTHER AND A CHOICE MADE "MICH IS MORE IMPORTANT. AND THOUGH IT MAY NOT SEEM SO AT A DISTANCE, THERE IS TERRIFIC INNE CONFLICT MITHIN THE SOUTH TODAY, THAT IS WITHIN THE INDIVIDUAL WHITE SOUTHERNER AND WITHIN THE WHITE SOUTH AS A GROUP, BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS WITHIN THE WHITE SOUTH THERE'S A GREAT DEAL OF CONFLICT, A GREAT DEAL OF DISTRESS OF SPIRIT, AS THESE VALUES CLASH AND HAVE TO BE SELECTED AMONG.

SCHNEIDER:

THE LAST ASSERTION OF WIR. FLEMING TO THE EFFECT THAT THERE'S A GREAT DEAL OF CONFLICT AND DISTRESS OF SPIRIT IS PERTINENT. GIVEN THE WAY OUR DISCUSSION HAS GONE TODAY, I THINK IT'S WORTH REMARKING THAT THERE SEEMS LITTLE DOUBT THAT THIS KIND OF CONFLICT MOTIVATES DESIRES TO PROCEED "GRADUALLY". | FEEL WE SHOULD SAY SOME THINGS ABOUT GRADUALISM IN GENERAL. FOR ONE THING, THE WATCHWORD "GRADUALISM" TENDS TO BECOME A SLOGAN FOR PEOPLE WHO BELIEVE THEMSELVES TO BE THINKING WISELY WHEN THEY REFLECT OR SAY, WELL, SOMETHING LIKE THIS JUST HAS TO BE DONE GRADUALLY. THIS KIND OF THINKING, IF THINKING IS THE WORD FOR IT IS REALLY QUITE USELESS. GRANTED, THERE MAY BE FACTO IN VARIOUS SITUATIONS THAT REQUIRE A SLACKENING OF PACE. JUST AS THERE MAY BE FACTORS, FOR THAT MATTER, IN OTHER SITUATIONS, ON THE BASIS OF WHICH ONE COULD COUNTENANCE A SPEEDING UP OF PACE. BUT WE HAVE TO USE OUR HEADS, AND IT BECOMES SAD WHEN ALL WE CAN FIND IN THEM IS SLOGANS. LET ME ILLUSTRATE WHAT MEAN. THOSE WHO LIKE GRADUALISM AS SUCH, AND PERSUADS THEMSELVES THAT THEY HAVE CAUGHT ON TO A PHILOSOPHY, ARE VERY LIKELY TO BELITTLE "EXTREMISM". ONE WONDERS IF THEY HAVE EVER THOUGHT THROUGH WHAT "EXTREMISM" IT THIS CONTEXT REALLY MEANS. I THINK VERY APT, IN THIS CONNECTION, SOME WORDS BY WILLIAM PETERS, AUTHOR OF THE SOUTHERN TEMPER, AN ABLE JOURNALISTIC SURVEY OF THE PRESENT DAY SOUTH. MR. PETERS MRITES AS FOLLOWS. "BUT WHO ARE THE 'EXTREME' DESEGREGATIONISTS' MARTIN LUTHER KING, WITH HIS DOCTRINE OF NON-VIOLENT RESIST-ANCE? THURGOOD WARSHALL, WITH HIS REASONED ARGUMENTS BEFORE THE SUPREME COURT? CATHOLIC ARCHBISHOP JOSEPH RUMMEL, WITH HIS STATEMENT THAT RACIAL SEGREGATION IS MORALLY WRONG AND SINFUL? ONE LOOKS IN VAIN TO FIND DESEGREGATIONIST WHO HAVE USED OR EVEN ADVOCATED VIOLENCE OR UNLAWFUL MEANS TO ATTAIN THEIR ENDS.

RICHTER:

IF I UNDERSTAND YOU THEN, YOU ARE MAKING AN APPEAL T US REALLY TO THINK ABOUT THESE PROBLEMS. SLOGANS AND PHRASES SUCH AS "ME' VE GOT TO DO THIS THING GRADUALLY. AT LEAST WHEN THEY ARE NOT TIED CLOSELY TO ANALYSIS CONTROL THINKING THROUGH OF, REAL SITUATIONS SOUND QUITE HOLLOW.

SCHNEIDER: GUITE.

RICHTER:

AND ON THIS NOTE WE END THIS SERIES OF PROGRAMS. WE KNEW FROM THE BEGINNING THAT THE "WHOLE" STORY OF THE NEGRO IN AMERICA WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE TO TELL, NO MATTER HOW MUCH TIME WE MIGHT HAVE HAD TO DO SO. HOWEVER, WE DELIEVE WE HAVE TOUCHED A NUMBER OF THE HIGHSPOTS OF THE STORY. IT IS CLEAR, EVEN WITH THE STORY NECESSARILY INCOMPLETE, AND WITH MUCH LEFT OUT THAT WE WOULD HAVE LIKED TO INCLUDE, THAT THE PROBLEMS OF THE "LAST CITIZEN" WILL TAKE MUCH THOUGHT, MUCH PLANNING, AND THE MOST VARIED KINDS OF ACTION BEFORE WE CAN COME ANYWHERE NEAR TO SOME KIND OF RESOLUTION OF THEM. IN CONCLUSION, WE WOULD LIKE TO EXTEND OUR THANKS TO DR. LOUIS SCHNEIDER AND TO THE MANY PEOPLE WHO HAVE CONTRIBUTED THEIR TIME AND WORDS TO THE PRODUCTION OF "THE LAST CITIZEN", THE NEGRO! IN AMERIC.

MUSIC: THEME UP AND UNDER

ANNCR:

You have been listening to Dr. Louis Schneider, Professor of Sociology at Purdue University, and the Program's producer-director, E. W. Richter, as they Discuss "The Last Citizen". This program was produce. And recorded by WBAA, Purdue University, under a grant from the Educational Television and Radio Cheter and is being distributed by the National Association of Educational Broadcasters.

MUSIC THEME UP TO FINISH

ANNCR: THIS IS THE NAEB RADIO NETWORK.